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SOCIAL LIFE OF THE NAVAJO INDIANS

WITH SOME ATTENTION TO MINOR CEREMONIES

BY
GLADYS A. REICHARD

NEW YORK
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PREFACE

The material presented in the following pages was gathered in the summers of 1923, 1924 and 1925 under grants from the Southwest Society and Columbia University. The genealogies were drawn at the Museum für Völkerkunde at Hamburg, Germany. I wish to acknowledge my great indebtedness to these three institutions for making the work possible. But I desire also to express my gratitude to the individuals without whose generous assistance the publication would have been impossible, namely, to Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons of the Southwest Society, Professor Franz Boas of Columbia University and Professor Georg Thilenius of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde.

The huge and desert Navajo country is, in many respects, a territory devoid of creature comforts and for that reason a difficult one to travel even under the most ideal conditions. However, the inhabitants of the region, white and Indian alike, have shown me untold consideration and for all the innumerable kindnesses which were granted me, I wish to express my appreciation to traders, government officials, missionaries, informants and interpreters. I covered so much territory, especially in the summer of 1925, and experienced so much helpfulness from so many people that it is impossible to mention them all here. However, I want every one to know that his kindness is not forgotten or unappreciated, and I here render the highest tribute to the refreshing and generous spirit of the Southwest. In addition to the three individuals mentioned in my first paragraph, I must mark two others for particular gratitude. Dr. P. E. Goddard of the American Museum of Natural History, the Athapascan authority, was of infinite help practically and scientifically. To him I am indebted for linguistic checks and Apache comparisons as well as for much practical advice. Father Berard Haile, in 1923 and 1924 stationed at Lukachukai, gave not only the most useful practical suggestions as to roads, informants, interpreters, etc. but also clues to some of the important customs, especially to the "*natc'it*," which might be discovered only by long residence with the natives or by accident.

May I repeat once more to all who made the path in the Southwest country smoother and to those responsible for the publication of this volume, "Most heartily I thank you."

Gladys A. Reichard

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I. INTRODUCTION

When considered in the light of all that has been written concerning the Navajo Indians it might be said that much has been recorded about their mythology and religion. But if one refers to the amount of myth and religion which has been studied in detail in relation to the amount still unrecorded it is a mere drop in the bucket. However since sufficient material has been published to give a limited understanding of a very interesting religion and literature it is necessary that another phase of Navajo life, namely, social organization, should be touched upon. *An Ethnologic Dictionary of theNavaho Language* by the Franciscan Fathers and two short papers by Washington Matthews[1] based on mythology are the only available sources of information upon the subject. The former has a brief treatise on Sociology which gives numerous accurate and valuable details. It does not however do more than list the clans, it does not discuss their characteristics and functions fully, nor does it differentiate Navajo kinsmen. The latter article must, because of the mythical basis of its facts, be considered only as a rationalized formulation of attitudes toward the clan in Matthews' time.

Since knowledge of the clan as it exists among the camp-dwellers of the Southwest is essential to a thorough understanding of the same unit among the village peoples the investigation of the subject was begun among the Navajo in 1923 and continued in 1924 and 1925.

Although the extreme complexity of the whole subject was not fully understood at first, the trial of various field methods determined the fact that the genealogical method (the favorite of Dr. Parsons) was most successful. More exact conclusions of a different nature might be secured by the census method. Its use would give detailed information on such matters as sex ratio, birth and death rates, population increase, clan membership and the like. However up to the present time no accurate census of the Navajo tribe has been obtained. The U. S. Government has of necessity made many sincere attempts to take such a census. But the nature of the Navajo country, its vast extent, the geographical obstacles to travel — dangerous washes, rugged mountains, rock wastes, aridity — as well as the mobility of the population, have so far thwarted these attempts. It is true that at times when sheep are dipped most of the flocks are brought to the various sheep-dipping centers and accounts of owners are kept. The Navajo custom of tending flocks makes it unnecessary that the Government record details of every possessor.

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[1] JAFL 3:89—110. Legends 135—159.

For example, a man brings in a flock of say, five hundred animals. He has them dipped and pays for them and returns to his home. It may very well be that these animals are the property of half a dozen individuals not named in the records. His wife and children, or his sisters and brothers or perhaps his mother may send their sheep and no one ever finds out the extent of his family.

Again a man may have had (and frequently has had) two or three wives each of which has a family of children. Due to government interference the custom of polygyny has become illegal. Therefore when a Navajo gives information to an official regarding his family he names the legally recognized wife and her children. Some regions of the Navajo territory have not been penetrated by whites. To mention only two: the region around Red Rock east of the Lukachukai Mountains might well be classed as ethnologically uncharted territory; it is said also that there are Indians living around Black Mountain who have never seen a white man. Certain it is that at the extreme southern end of Black Mountain (at Lorenzo Hubbell's store called Piñon) only one adult man can speak English. Around Kayenta there is also very little evidence of white influence.

Other factors which add to census difficulties are frequent changes of residence and habits of naming. I take account of every individual in a given community to-day. A week later I am attempting the same kind of record twenty or thirty, perhaps fifty, miles away. It is not unusual to learn that several of my former friends have by this time moved their families to a more favorable grazing place. So if I am not careful with names and relationships I shall be counting one family twice or oftener. Some individuals appear again and again, others are never seen.

Although every individual has a name it is rarely used, or he may have several names, or an informant may make up a name to designate him which no one else will recognize. The same names are used again and again; there is hardly a community which has no Tall Navajo *(dine nez)* or Slim Woman *(estsą tsosi)*. I record at Shiprock a man called Blacksmith, a certain relative of so and so. At Lukachukai also I record a Blacksmith, relative of someone else, and after recording a long and complicated genealogy I find he is the same individual I met at Shiprock. Or, I work with an informant who gives his name as Mr. Little's Son *(hastin tsiyi biyɛ)* and get data about his family. Later I speak to someone else who cannot think who he is, even though he may be a close neighbor, until a minute description of the man, his clan and relatives is given when he is recognized as He Who Squints *(hastin nɛstc'il)*.

In census-taking such details are never sought out. The best way to identify a person is by clan and relationship, but the Government does not concern itself with clans. I should not say that the securing of an exact Navajo census is an impossibility. But I would say that

it must be a growth, it cannot be obtained by the usual methods of census-taking. One census is in the process of accumulation. I refer to the data being secured by the Franciscan, Father Marcellus. For years he has been collecting names, relationships, clans, etc. of individuals living around St. Michael's or at least known there. He has now been moved to Waterflow, between Farmington and Shiprock at the eastern edge of the reservation and is continuing his observations there. He has undertaken the task for practical reasons but it is to be hoped that sometime his findings will be published. It would be desirable to have others working along the same lines in other parts of the reservation.

The genealogical method on the other hand, has a great advantage over one based upon census in that it throws some light upon history. A census includes only the living people, the genealogy of an intelligent man interested in the question may yield data on as many as nine (See Gen. I D) generations, at the very least three or four. If a selection were made of genealogies given by informants with good memories a birth and death rate for the several generations might also be of value. For there are some, especially the medicine-men who travel about a great deal, who know and remember everyone they meet. The Navajo in general count deceased infants and in many cases know the sex of very small children. There have even been cases where abortions were counted in enumerating progeny. The possession of children is a very important matter; there is no limit to the number which is welcomed. This fact may be a reason for the careful inclusion of small or deceased children.

To answer the questions of interest, namely, clan as an institution, family, marriage, naming, property rights, etc. genealogies were secured which accounted for approximately 3500 individuals. These genealogies were taken principally in five regions: Shiprock, New Mexico; Lukachukai, Chinlee, Keam's Cañon, and Ganado, Arizona. From a study of these genealogies which may be considered the intensive portion of the work it was apparent that only a one-sided view of Navajo social life could be obtained. For, if the clans were as strongly localized as the data would lead one to suppose, those seemingly extinct in the areas considered might exist elsewhere. Also since clan groupings differed in these places they might differ even more in others.

Thus it happened that in the summer of 1925 what we might call the geographical method was used so as to make the results more comprehensive. The aim was to discover the predominating clans — and the absent ones — their approximate number and their affiliations in as many places on the reservation as possible. Such data were gathered from the following places (see map): Cañoncito, thirty-eight miles northeast of Old Laguna; Crown Point and Pueblo Bonito; Crystal; Tohatchi and Tohatchi Mountain; Ft. Defiance; Piñon (thirty miles northeast of Oraibi) at the southern end

of Black Mountain; Tuba City and Kayenta at the northern end of Black Mountain. Furthermore, checks on old data were made at Shiprock and Ganado and new material was procured. So that now I am ready to verify my conclusions regarding clan size and grouping not only by intensive study in a few localities but also by observations in widespread areas.

Besides genealogical material there are facts gleaned from various sources. Old medicine-men like to talk about clans. If one can keep them from harking back too far into a mythological period they tell of various experiences (many of them historical bits about life at Ft. Sumner) which show important phases of Navajo life. Life on the reservation consists largely of travelling and at such times and while camping many useful fragments of information were picked up. It was deemed best to use many interpreters, each in his own locality, and the majority of these were not only interesting friends but sensible helpful companions. There is one noticeable lack in the list of interpreters in that there are few women. Women are excellent informants and frequently served as such but fewer women attend school than men; usually those who know English hesitate to speak. They are timid and shy. If they have been taken away from their Navajo environment entirely as by government agencies or missionaries it becomes impossible for them to get an ethnological point of view. I think it correct to say that it is much easier for a man to be Navajo and white than for a woman, the latter must be one or the other. I had many good friends among the Navajo women but with one exception no interpreter.

The following is a list of informants and interpreters at the various places visited. Interpreters should in most cases be considered informants also.

Place	Interpreters	Informants
Shiprock	Sydney Philips	Sandoval, Mary's father
	Mary Philips	Lone Cedar's mother *(kadi'ai' bama) hatali*
	Tuli tso	He Who Squints *(hastin nɛstc'il)*
	Allen Neskiha	Mr. Moustache *(hastin badayai)*
Lukachukai	Albert Sandoval	White Woman *(ɛstsą łayai)*
		Albert's maternal grandmother
		Warrior Starts Back *(t'adɛzba)*
		Manchisco *(aditsai')*
		Woman of Alkaline Water *(ɛstsą todokǫji)*

Place	Interpreters	Informants
Lukachukai	Albert Sandoval	Tsisko
		Blue Eyes *(hastin bina' łabai)*
		Man of Salt Clan *(hastin aciłi)*
		Gray Hair *(bitsi' łabai-higi)*
		tabąxą Woman
Chinlee	Charley Mitchell	Tracking a Warrior *(kełxaba') nacyali*[1]
Keam's Cañon	Clay	Man of Alkali Water *(hastin todokǫji)*
		Mr. Night Chant *(hastin łedjini)*
		Policeman's mother
		Mr. Black *(hastin jin) hastin t'ecɛ*
		Grass Woman *(ɛstsą to·ni l'oleta)*
		Slim (Man) of Edge of Water *(tabąxą tsosi)*
		Many Goats
Ganado	Grover Cleveland	Striker
		Much Yucca Fruit Man
		Black Rock Man
Wide Ruins	Grover Cleveland	Charley and others
Cañoncito	Richard Wood	Francisco Bitaro
Crown Point (Pueblo Bonito)	William Antone	Slim Navajo *ɛlnaba*
		Tall Singer *(hatali nɛz)*
Crystal	Chee Dodge	Chee Dodge
Tohatchi	Mrs. Bitsı	Mrs. Bitsi
Tohatchi Mt.	Luis	*holyan* (Julian?)
Ft. Defiance	Tom Catren	Roan Horse *(bilį dałbai)*
		Yellow Blacksmith *(atsidi łtso)*
	Luis Watchman	Luis Watchman
	John Watchman	John Watchman
Piñon (So. end of Black Mt.)	Alex	Red Horse *(bilį nłtci)*
Tuba City	George Bancroft	George Bancroft
	James Watchman	James Watchman

[1] None of the material secured from this informant has been used. Much of it did not correspond with information secured from others. *nacyali* is senile and a braggart.

Place	Interpreters	Informants
Red Lake (38 miles northeast of Tuba)	Swett Billagodi	Left-Handed Red Moustache
Kayenta	Swett Billagodi	*kiya'ani*

Interpreters possessed varying degrees of efficiency and ability. Differences were due to type of interest, kind of education, variety of experiences and of degree of emotion. Just as some white people have a keen interest in genealogies and their histories so many Navajo know and remember many people. Due to their type of social organization and kinship system however, the percentage of those interested is larger than in our population. The best interpreters were those who had learned to speak English but who had received also an essentially Navajo education. Several, Chee Dodge, Albert Sandoval and Grover Cleveland had excellent training as interpreters for ethnologists and geologists. Chee Dodge interpreted for Matthews, Albert Sandoval for the Franciscan Fathers, and Grover for Dr. Gregory of the U. S. Geological Survey. One interpreter excelled in ferreting out ages, a most difficult task, another in ascertaining geographical locations, a third in discovering names, and still another in remembering sex of children. So that the data while not uniform for the whole area investigated are quite comprehensive in scope.

II. NAVAJO-LIFE

Several papers have been published giving the most outstanding characteristics of Navajo material culture. However, since most of these are out of print I shall briefly outline the most striking features even at the risk of becoming trite. The Navajo inhabit an area of about 25,000 square miles in northwestern New Mexico and northeastern Arizona. Their territory comprises lofty mountains like the Lukachukai and Carrizo Ranges; deep, beautiful cañons like Cañon del Muerto, Cañon de Chelley and Marsh Pass; a river, the San Juan, which furnishes almost unlimited possibilities for irrigation; and large expanses of so-called desert, land which before the summer rains is barren and dry but which becomes green and productive as soon as the rains begin, usually in July or August.

On this land the Navajo keeps his flocks of sheep and goats, his herds of cattle and horses. He has many more horses than he needs and in lean years they become quite decrepit. They are left to wander wild and are usually not artificially fed. The flocks are pastured on the plains or mesas in winter, in summer they are driven to the mountains and the whole family moves with them. Each family may have two or three places of abode to which they return as the seasons change. In this sense only are the Navajo nomadic.

The winter dwelling is the hogan which has been frequently described and pictured.[1] It is a somewhat crude but not uncomfortable one-roomed house in which the family eats, sleeps and lives.

Temporary shelters or "shades" are built in which the family lives in summer, but if these are supported by large timbers it is not unusual for them to be occupied year after year when the roof of green branches is renewed. In well-wooded localities as for example, at Lukachukai, there is a number of log or frame houses built after the manner of white men's homes. Frequently too when the family can afford it, the brush shade is supplemented by a canvas tent which is pitched behind the shelter and where food and valuables are stored. It may be remarked that the shade is much more comfortable then the tent because it is cooler.

The three main articles of diet are bread, mutton and coffee. Corn is used when procurable and the Navajo buys white man's food such as canned goods, rice, sugar, etc. whenever possible. The Franciscans[2] have recorded details of the various ways in which the oldtime foods are prepared. During a ceremony much food is in evidence, at one meal I counted eight varieties of meat being cooked at one time,

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[1] Matthews RBAE 5: 418, 420. FF 327—340. Mindeleff RBAE 17 (pt. 2).
[2] FF 204—220.

among them prairie-dog, sheep's head, sheep's liver, boiled mutton, grilled mutton, a kind of mutton hash and others. On this occasion the prairie dog was the *pièce de resistance.*

With their customary thoroughness the Franciscans have described Navajo clothing[1] — predominance of silver and turquoise ornaments, velvet jacket of men and women, trousers and silver belt of men, soft moccasins and peculiar queues. But they have omitted — perhaps because it is relatively new — a description of what to me is the most unique part of the woman's costume. The calico skirt of a Navajo woman seems very long in comparison with that of a Pueblo or of a white woman. In reality it is rarely more than ankle length. It is sometimes as much as twelve or fifteen yards in width consisting of a straight upper foundation gathered into a double belt about three to four inches wide. A ruffle is then gathered on to the foundation giving additional width. It is very common to see the ruffle bound to the body of the skirt by means of a contrasting stripe, and as many as two or three stripes ornament the ruffle. One or two stripes may also be sewed to the inside of it, these show in ripples when the woman walks or rides. After the stitching has been finished the skirt is wrung in the hands — it may even be dampened. By this process the gathers are creased in more or less permanent folds. The short quick steps taken by the woman cause the skirt to flare in a graceful fashion. This costume including velvet jacket and flaring skirt was adopted from the Spanish. The sewing-machine is a great boon to the Navajo seamstress for even with its assistance the making of a dress is a tedious task.

The Navajo do not lack artistic ability. The men are famous for their silverwork and the women for their weaving. Silversmithing which has been described by Matthews[2] is done with very simple crude implements but the results are beautiful. Men, women and children often wear jewelry which is their pride and the envy of all white visitors. The industry has not been vitiated by white contact as much as rug weaving even though one sees in the curio shops of the larger settlements silver ornaments which are atrocities. They are made for white trade and are never worn by the Navajo themselves. As for blankets with old designs, more can be found in New York than on the reservation. An industrious woman weaves continually but the old designs are no longer the favorites. A study of art style is no longer possible in this tribe for designs come from too many foreign sources. In one sense the art has deteriorated, for many designs have become so complex as to be distinctly ugly. The so-called "*yeibitcai*" blankets, that is, those imitating sand-paintings are, in my opinion, the lowest in the process of degeneration. Since the demand has become great for them some traders encourage their

[1] FF 463—466.
[2] RBAE 2: 171—178.

manufacture. Designs taken from non-native geometrical patterns are sometimes beautiful, especially when executed in the native colors. But as soon as representative patterns are attempted the rugs become monstrosities. An interesting but unbeautiful rug showed the following motives in pairs, doubtless to illustrate the evolution of transportation: cow, horse, wagon, automobile and aeroplane. It is possible that the cow was meant to represent the ox. The following is a good example of copying from advertisements, food wrappers, oilcloth and the like. A woman was working for a long time on a large and, she reported, very handsome rug. The trader awaited it with great enthusiasm to find upon unrolling it an accurately woven replica of the Ivory soap wrapper including the decorative design I-V-O-R-Y!

But in another sense the blanket industry has shown progress. The availability of many colored yarns and more especially of aniline dyes has developed in the real artists an ambition for combining and creating beautiful colors. Dyes are rarely used as manufactured but most frequently they are mixed so that rich warm colors are achieved. I saw one rug which was very handsome having rich brown and tan and warm red shades; the pattern was composed of small units artistically and skilfully placed.

The height of artistic expression is reached in the most fleeting of Navajo arts. The making of sand or dry paintings is a man's art although women may learn to make them. The paintings which have been described by Matthews[1] are made for purposes of curing during the progress of the religious ceremonies or chants. They are conventionalized representations which picture a scene of a myth. The symbolism used in making them is uniquely interesting, the colors, tan, red, white, blue and black are soft in tone and blend perfectly one with another. Hours are consumed in constructing a single painting only to have it entirely obliterated in less than half an hour.[2] As paintings these are elegant; it is only when the attempt is made to adapt them to another technique, such as weaving, that they become unaesthetic.

The imaginative arts, song, dance and myth are highly developed in this tribe. These are primarily the possession of the men and considering their content may very possibly have been originated by men. Myths and songs are characterized by the repeated use of the following literary devices: repetition usually four or twelvefold, balance, use of figures of speech especially simile and metaphor, personification; and poetic allusions, especially to natural phenomena. The holy number is four, higher multiples particularly twelve and thirty-two are also greatly favored. Balance is frequently achieved in poetry and prose by the use of gender. Rain, for example

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[1] RBAE 5: 444ff. Night Chant MAM 6 : 36.
[2] RBAE 5: 425—427.

is male or female according to its severity. The colors, white, blue, yellow, black (or red) each of which belongs to a certain direction beginning at the east and traveling in a sunwise direction also do much to preserve a sense of balance and are used to achieve a fourfold of repetition. Imagination is limited only by the bounds of conceivable space and time and in its way Navajo mythology rivals that of India in grandeur. The east Indian palace is adorned with gems, the modest Navajo hogan has poles of white shell, turquoise, obsidian, jet and redstone. The palace door in the Far East is made of gold, the entrance to the Navajo hogan has a quadruple curtain of dawn, sky-blue, evening twilight and darkness.[1] A cave of the supernaturals called the House of Dew-Drops is garlanded with rainbows,[2] gods travel on rainbows,[3] the sunbearer takes the sun off his back[4], zigzag lightning ties a baby covered with cloud blankets into its cradle-board.[5] Stars have not been used much in this very remarkable poetry, probably because they are used for purposes of divination, and are therefore too sacred to use in secular or even ceremonial literature.

Myth, sand-paintings, and song are inextricably interwoven with one other kind of Navajo art, drama, the entire complex forming the basis of religious ritual. The performance over the sand-painting has dramatic elements, birds fly and sing, snakes pull their heads in and out of a sacred house and wind their tails. But the evening performances of the last day of a big chant are really theatrical. Clowns dance and go through antics for the benefit of the audience, young men dance with torches or with standing arcs ornamented with eagle plumes.[6] Most amusing of all perhaps are the tricks which are performed. This form of entertainment is very common in America but it seems to me that Navajo tricks are somewhat finer, less gruesome, than those of some other regions. Northweast Coast Societies cut off a man's head and Siberians cut open the abdomen. Navajo priests make feathers dance with people, corn and yucca grow to maturity in half an hour, the sun rise and set. Arrow swallowing which has a wide distribution is also accomplished by the Navajo.[7]

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[1] FF 328.
[2] RBAE 5: 451.
[3] Night Chant, 30, 143, 177, 186, 194, 210, 212, 246.
[4] Legends 111.
[5] Legends 106.
[6] RBAE 5: 437.
[7] *Ibid.* 432ff.

III. THE CLAN

THE CLANS

Because the history of the Navajo clan is so closely bound up in mythology great confusion exists regarding its character as well as the relationship of clans to one another. Matthews[1] based his discussion upon the myth and his conclusions are consequently open to question. Lack of differentiation between myth and fact is not the only cause for lack of consistency in the minds of those who have tried to study the Navajo clan. The fact that the clans have local names, place names we may legitimately say, also helps to confuse the issue. Matthews[2] and the Franciscan Fathers[3] are the only ones who have published their results but the white people who live on the Navajo Reservation have manifested considerable interest in the matter. A favorite query is "How many clans did *you* find?" For some the problem is to find as many as possible, for others to check your number with theirs; no two persons ever agree.

The number of Navajo clans depends entirely upon interpretation. Matthews records fifty-one, the Franciscan Fathers fifty-eight, not all of which correspond. I should be able to include more than either if I did not eliminate some because of evidence that there are duplicate names for certain clans.

Since the question of the clan-group (see Chapter IV) is quite as important as the question of clan itself I have decided to list the clans in the following way. Numbers will be assigned to each clan and as a matter of convenience the numbers will be used throughout this paper. The meanings of the clan names will be given as secured by Matthews, the Franciscans and myself.

Clan	Matthews	Franciscans	Reichard
1. *ta'nɛstsa'ni*	Among Scattered (Hills)	Poles strung out at the Water	Hogan on Rock
2. *dził'ani*	Base of Mountain	Base of Mountain	Mountain makes Corral
3. *xonaɣa'ani*	Place of walking	People formed of her Back	He walks around
4. *toxandinɛ*	Beside the Water	Water is close by	Near the Water
5. *naxoba'ani*	Brown Streak: horizontal on Ground	Light-colored Soil	Light-colored Soil
6. *hacyą'atso'*	Much Yucca	Where Yucca is strung out	Yucca Fruit is spread out

[1] JAFL 3: 89—110. Legends 135—159.
[2] *Op. Cit.*
[3] FF 424.

Clan	Matthews	Franciscans	Reichard
7. *hoγała'ni*	Many Huts	Many Hogans	Many Huts (from Hopi)
8. *lok'adınɛ*	Reeds	Reed	Reed
9. *bɪt'ănĭ*	Folded Arms	Folded Arms	Folded Arms
10. *totso'oni*	Great Water	Big Water	Big Water
11. *tsɛdɛckijni*	Rocky Pass	Rock Pass	Gap of Rock
12. *hacl'ɪjni*	Mud	Mud	Mud (Clay)
13. *na'nɛct'ɛjĭ*	Black horizontal Stripe Aliens (Zuñi)	Black across	Zuñi
14. *l'ɪzała'ni*	Many Goats	Many Goats	Many Goats
15. *kınłtci'ini*	Red House (of Stone)	Red House (San Juan)	Red House (Pueblo)
16. *l'astci'*	Red Flat	Red Lefties (Left-handed)	Red Streak under House
17. *tsınadjɪni*	Black horizontal Forest	Dark Streak of Wood	Black Rock
18. *tsɛ'naxabɪdni*	Overhanging Rock	Overhanging Ledge of Rock	Rock ready to fall
19. *destci'ini*	Red Streak	Bend of Red Rock	(from White Mt.)
20. *tatci'ini*	Among the Red (Waters or Banks)	Red Soil (Country)	Red Streak
20a. *nat'otso tatci'ini*	—	—	Big Tobacco *tatci'ini*
20b. *bi̧dınɛ tatci'ini*	—	—	Deer People *tatci'ini*
20c. *yeidınɛ tatci'ini*	—	—	God People *tatci'ini*
20d. *nanɛcteji tatci'ini*	—	—	Zuñi *tatci'ini*
21. *bił'ɪzdaltci'*	—	—	Red Goats
22. *kiya'ani*	High-standing House	Where Houses stand up	Standing House
23. *bɪt'a·ni·*	Brow of Mountain	Leaf (they who passed along side of Cañon)	Base of Mountain
24. *toxɛdlini*	Junction of Rivers	Crossing of Waters (Rivers)	Two Streams meet
25. *nak'aidınɛ*	White Stranger (Mexican)	Mexican	Mexican
26. *tsekehi*	Rocks standing near each other	Twin Rock	Trail in Cañon
27. *nodadınɛ*	Ute	—	Ute
28. *tsınsak'adınɛ*	Lone Tree	Lone Tree	Lone Tree
29. *todɛtci'ini*	Bitter Water	Bitter Water	Bitter Water
30. *bi̧bɪtodınɛ*	Deer Spring	Deer Water	Deer Spring
31. *k'adınɛ*	Living Arrows	Living Arrows	Arrow People
32. *aci̧hi̧*	Salt	Salt	Salt
33. *ma'i̧dɛckijni*	Coyote Pass (Jemez)	Coyote Pass (Jemez)	Jemez
34. *dibɛlɛjini*	—	San Felipe	Black Sheep (San Felipe)
35. *todokǫji*	Saline Water	Alkaline Water	Salt Water
36. *tabąxą*	Among the Waters	Edge of Water	Edge of Water
37. *haltso'*	Yellow Bodies	Living in Meadow	Grassy Place
38. *tsɛndjikini*	—	Black House	Black House

Clan	Matthews	Franciscans	Reichard
39. *ts'ai'ɛsk'ɪdni*	Sage-brush Hill	Sage-brushKnolls	Sage-brush Hill
40. *ł'ogi*	Name of old Pueblo	Fluffy or Grass-mat	Yellow Flat (?)
41. *yo'i*	Beads	Bead	Bead
42. *tsɛ'djɪndi'ai*	Trap-dyke	Malpais Trap-dyke	Malpais Trap-dyke
43. *to'bajna'aj*	Two come for Water	Where two went for Water	Two went for Water
44. *ado'tsosni*	Narrow Gorge	—	Narrow Gorge
45. *azɛtso dɪnɛ*	—	Big Medicine People	Big Medicine People
46. *cac dɪnɛ*	—	Bear People	Bear People
47. *taji dɪnɛ*	—	Turkey People	Turkey People
48. *nadą dɪnɛ*	—	Corn People	Corn People
49. *k'ai dɪnɛ*	—	Willow People	Willow People
50. *dildje'*	—	—	Tonto Apache
51. *nałan dɪnɛ*	—	—	Sioux
51a. *tcɪji*	—	—	Geronimo Apache
52. *dzɪdna'xodɪdni*	Encircled Mountain	(Extinct)	Sacred Mountain
53. *tsɛbɪxo'ya'ani*	—	—	Sand Hogan
54. *djoxona'ai dɪnɛ*	—	Sun People	Sun People
55. *to'łɪtso'oni*	—	—	Yellow Water
56. *maįto'*	Coyote Spring	—	—
57. *tse'yanaṭó'ni*	Horizontal Water under Cliffs	—	—
58. *ṭo'tcalsiṭàya* (extinct)	Water under the "Sitting Frog"(?)	—	—
59. *tse'tlàni*	Bend of Cañon	People at Monocline	—
60. *tqèhogǎnĭ*	—	People of the White Valley	—
61. *t'is jǎbāni*	—	Gray Cottonwood	—
62. *tsendzɪltsoi*	—	Yellow Houses	—
63. *naá'i*	Monocline	—	—
64. *tse'cqáni*	Among the Rocks	—	—

The first forty-nine are the main clans we shall discuss in this paper. The list may be indefinitely increased by adding the Navajo names of foreigners such as 50, 51, 51a which are not assimilated with the Navajo clans. A number of notes follow which attempt to show the way in which the Navajo themselves regard the individual clans. The degree of consistency we find in Navajo interpretation is a rather good criterion upon which to base conclusions. For, concerning some clans — I consider it justifiable to say, the old ones — there is general agreement, in regard to the others there is diversity of opinion.

NOTES

Clan 8 is said to be a Hopi clan and 7 is a nickname for 8. However the number of people calling themselves *hogał'a'ni* is much larger than of those who claim to be *lok'adɪnɛ*. I think it necessary to keep these two clans distinct since the Navajo themselves think of them in this way. It is said that after a family reunion there were many huts at a certain place and the name was taken.

Clans 11 and 44. The name *tsɛdɪckijni* is said to be a place name. But around Keam's Cañon, Chinlee, Black Mountain and Tuba City the members of this clan distinguish themselves from the *totso'oni* (10) with whom they are identified in other places. In some places they have never heard of *tsɛdɪckijni*. Hastin Jake from near Pueblo Bonito says that this is not the same as *totso'oni*, that at first the people called themselves *ado'tsosni* then moved to a place called *tsɛdɪckijni* and took the name. According to him they were more closely related to *acįhį* (32).

Clan 14. It is rather generally agreed that *ł'ɪzała'ni* is a nickname for *kɪnɬɪtci'ini* which purports to be a pueblo (perhaps a pre-pueblo) clan. The story goes that one *kɪnɬɪtci'ini* became very rich and had a large number of goats and hence was called Many Goats. So the clan secured the nickname which is to-day a perfectly good clan name.

Clan 20. This is a very important clan both as to size and prestige. Around Ft. Defiance there are said to be four subdivisions of this clan, those listed as 20a, 20b, 20c and 20d. These were perhaps pueblo clans adopted by the *tatci'ini* who kept their old names and adopted also the affiliated name These are the only cases I have of double clan names which, the Franciscans[1] say, occur somewhat rarely. Since they obtained their information from this region it is natural that the data should agree.

Clan 21. A nickname for 22. The story runs much like that for clan 14. A man with a breed of red goats increased the number so as to make his flock remarkable and the clan took the name since he was an important individual.

Clan 34. The name again follows the pattern of nicknaming pueblo clans from a characteristic of the flock of an individual.

Clan 39. *dɪnɛtsosi* of Crown Point considers this the same as *destci'ini* (19).

Clan 42. This is considered to be a place-name and not a clan name except at Wide Ruins and Tuba City where a few people go by the name but consider themselves the same as *todɛtci'ini* (29). Francisco of Cañoncito says there is a reservation by this name near Alamo (I can find no one who knows anything of such a reservation). One man of Pueblo Bonito has this name but there is no such clan near there.

Clans 45, 46, 47, 48, 49. These clans are said by informants to be either not Navajo or not clans. A few individuals claim to belong to them but indicate relationship with pueblo clans. Clan 46 is said to be *ł'astci'* (16) by *dɪnɛtsosi* of Pueblo Bonito, but Hastin Jake thinks it is from Jicarilla Apache and is equivalent to *acįhį* (32). Charley of Wide Ruins says all the *tsɪnadjɪni* (17) think a bear was their mother but since they are Navajo the bear no longer helps them.

Albert's Grandmother (Gen. III, 1) says her grandmother told her they (clan 15 called "Bear") came from a pueblo but they do not know which one (perhaps San Juan). Everyone in the family calls them Bear People but those outside the family do not know this.

Jake considers clan 47 *(tajɛdɪnɛ)* equal to *kiya'ani* (22) because its members talk "smart" like turkey and they come from a mountain. His two explanations are as follows: 1st, a man had a turkey and his local group came to call themselves turkey, but it is not a clan name; 2nd, the pueblos had a Turkey clan and the *kiya'ani* "got mixed up with them." In the same locality *dɪnɛtsosi* explains the *tajɛdɪnɛ* came from a place-name *tsɛdɛ'ał* which means "Chewing Rock" because turkeys eat rock.

dɪnɛtsosi says all the Navajo clans descended from the man and woman made of corn are Corn People *(nadą dɪnɛ,* 48) whereas Hastin Jake says all the pueblos are Corn People. He says too that the *kɪnɬɪtci'ini* were Squash People. Charley says some people are called *nadą* because they raised much corn — Charley follows the myth pattern which accounts for new clan names.

A note from Bourke's journal (JAFL 3: 114) is interesting in this connec-

[1] FF 427.

tion: "The Zuñis know that the Navajos have among them clans known as Jemez People, Pueblos, and Zuñi People, and in speaking of the last say that they once formed the bulk of the Maiz or Corn gens of their own tribe. Some little communication is still kept up with them, and many of these Navajos still retain the language of the mother tribe. They are counted among the best blanket-makers and artisans of the Navajo."

Matthews' myth makes clan 49 identical with 20.

Clan 52. Although a few individuals at Shiprock and a few at Crystal call themselves *dzilna'xodilni*, at all other places it is considered only as the name of the holy mountain. Sandoval of Shiprock identifies it with clan 41.

Clan 53. Said to be a place name, not a clan name although two individuals of Shiprock are said to belong to this clan.

Clan 54. Various replies have been obtained to inquiry for this clan. Usually informants were amused, Sandoval was scornful at hearing it called Navajo. At Hopi they say the Navajo do not say "Sun" but rather "*kiya'ani*" clan. I think we are justified in saying this is a pueblo not a Navajo clan. At Laguna it was said that the Sun woman of Dr. Parsons' genealogy[1] was married into Laguna so far back that all trace of her Navajo clan is lost. *dinetsosi* says they called Paiutes "sun-men."

Clan 55. This clan mentioned by Sandoval was not represented by any living individual. At Crown Point it was said to be the place where Clan 2 or 38 lived; at Tohatchi Mt. it was said to be the same as Clan 4 and Chee Dodge says it is another name for Clan 29. I think it reasonable to relegate it to the category of place, not clan names. But it may be the same as Matthews' *Kiltsoi dine'*.[2]

Clan 56. A place name, not a clan name.

Clan 57. A place name, not a clan name. Many never heard of it.

Clan 58. No one recognized this word.

Clan 59. Also not recognized except at Shiprock where it was said to be the same as clan 2. For this as well as 58 Matthews' phonetics are inadequate.

Clan 60. Interpreted as a place, not a clan name, or as not Navajo; usually not recognized.

Clans 61 and 62. When heard of a place, not a clan, name.

There is one clan name used frequently, namely, *dine dobahozini'* the so-called unknown clan. This term is used by outsiders in speaking of a family whose clan-name or affiliation is not well known. The members of the family themselves will always know — at least they will have settled upon — their own clan membership and all that goes with it. There is then no large category into which persons of doubtful connections are thrown for to them connections never *are* doubtful.

Some also claim that some branches of adopted clans are "real" while others are "slave" clans.[3] I found numerous members of the "real" clans but no one among 3500 souls who confessedly belonged to a "slave" branch — consequently in practice all are "real!" There is little doubt that captives were often slaves, but since Navajo social organization did not tend to encourage the institution of slavery as it is commonly understood these individuals became acknowledged members of the Navajo tribe within a few generations. I think the present differentiation between real and slave clans is a rational-

[1] PaAM 19: Gen. IV, 1.
[2] Legends 150.
[3] FF 431.

ization to account for certain "old alien" clans being affiliated with several exogamic clan-groups (see Chap. IV).

It has been said that for the purpose of understanding the clan-group the clans were listed in the order given above. In order to understand the characteristics of the individual clans the following classification may be made. The Navajo clans fall naturally into four groups: 1. those having local or place names; 2. those having pueblo names (also local in a sense) or pueblo clan names; 3. those having nicknames; 4. those naming alien tribes. It will be sufficient to list these four classes with their English names — the numbers remain the same.

I. Clans named from place names:

1. Hogan on Rock
2. Mountain is Corral
3. Place of Walking
4. Near Water
5. Light Soil
6. Yucca Fruit is spread out
9. Folded Arms
10. Big Water
11. Gap of Rock
12. Mud (Clay)
16. Red Streak under House
17. Black Rock (? see note on 46 above)
18. Rock ready to fall
20. Red Streak (country)
23. Base of Mountain
24. Two Streams meet
26. Trail in Cañon
28. Lone Tree
29. (= 44) Bitter Water
30. Deer Spring
32. Salt
35. Salt Water
36. Edge of Water
37. Grassy Place
38. Black House (?)
39. Sage-Brush Hill
42. Malpais Trap-dyke
43. Where two went for Water
44. Narrow Gorge
49. Willow (see note on Bourke JAFL 23:118)
52. Holy Mountain
53. Sand Hogan

II. Clans named:

a) from pueblos:

13. Zuñi
15. Red House
19. ? (from White Mt.)
20d. Zuñi of *tatci'ini*
22. Standing House
33. Jemez
40. Yellow Flat (?)
45. Big Medicine People

b) from pueblo clans

8. Reed
20a. Big Tobacco *tatci'ini*
20b. Deer People *tatci'ini*
20c. God People *tatci'ini*
31. Arrow
41. Bead
46. Bear People
47. Turkey People
48. Corn People

III. Clans having nicknames:

7. Many Huts (from Hopi)	21. Red Goats
14. Many Goats	34. Black Sheep (San Felipe)

IV. Aliens:

25. Mexican	51. Sioux
27. Ute	51a. Geronimo Apache
50. Tonto Apache	

At first glance this classification may appear artificial. For instance, it may seem that a clan such as Willow (49) or Lone Tree (Cottonwood, 28) should be put in Class II b. But the Navajo really think of these as "place where willows grow" or "place where lone cottonwood stands." Bourke[1] rightly stresses this point. The translation of each Navajo clan in this class might have "where" or "place where" preceding it. Clan 9 is always thought of as "place where woman with folded arms stood." 32, Salt, is likewise thought of as "place where salt was found." If we consider Charley's information about 17, Black Rock (see notes p. 14), as well as that of *dɪnɛtsosi* that it is related to 16, Red Streak under House, hence to Bear (46), we may see the transition from the characteristic pueblo clan name to the Navajo locative idea. I am of the opinion that 38, Black House, has also undergone the same change, a pueblo clan having been named from its location so that we have really "place where houses are black."

From the viewpoint of this classification as well as from that of related clan-groups (see Chap. IV) the following interpretation of the Navajo clan may be made:

The present camp-dwellers of the Southwest, that is, the Apache and Navajo, had a number of clans named from place names. As they became acquainted with other tribes through war and more peaceful contacts pueblo ideas filtered lightly in. Pueblo women who married into the tribe gave their pueblo names to their children and thus clans with pueblo names originated. Or, it may be that in a tribe like the Navajo where the tendency for relating clans was extremely strong the woman was adopted into a Navajo clan and she and her children thereafter had a Navajo clan name.

The following incident illustrates such a process. Sandoval's (Gen. ID, 500) mother's mother's mother (Gen. ID, 559) was a Hopi who was captured by a Ute. The Ute sold her to a Navajo of *tatci'ini* (20) clan who married her. Her children became *tatci'ini* for they were named from their father's clan and Sandoval now says he is *tatci'ini* but used to be *xoze* (Hopi). Several pueblo clans apparently became associated with *tatci'ini*. It is conceivable that,

[1] JAFL 3: 118

instead of the children adopting the father's clan as they did in this case they might very well retain their mother's clan name, instead of her tribe-name and we would find such clans as Turkey, Bear, Corn or Sun. Or, while retaining the mother's name they might also adopt the father's and become Tobacco *tatci'ini*, etc. The following fact is worthy of note. The pueblo clans which are said to be Navajo are Corn, Bear, Sun, Turkey and Tobacco (exceedingly weak). With the exception of Tobacco these clans are the most generally distributed of the pueblo clans. They have the following distribution:

	Hopi	Zuñi	San Felipe[1]	Santa Ana	Sia
Corn	×	×	× (×)	× (×)	× (×)
Bear	×	×	× (—)	× (—)	× (—)
Turkey	×	—	× (—)	× (×)	— (—)
Sun	×	×	× (×)	(ext.) (—)	— (—)
Tobacco	×	×	— (×)	— (—)	— (×)

	Jemez	Cochiti	Isleta	Laguna	Acoma	Santo Domingo
Corn	×	×	×	×	×	×
Bear	—	×	×	×	×	×
Turkey	—	×	× (?)	×	×	×
Sun	×	×	× (Day)	×	×	×
Tobacco	—	—	—	—	—	×

It is not at all unlikely that the same thing happened when a pueblo man married a Navajo woman. This is all the more likely since there seems to be a feeling against intermarriage with Navajo at least at Laguna and Hopi. If the Navajo mother took a pueblo clan-name the fact of her being a Navajo would more quickly be forgotten. The degree to which the assimilation between Navajo and pueblo clans has been carried as well as the question of relative age will be more appropriately discussed after clan-relationships have been pointed out (see p. 30).

The class of clans which have nicknames is small but the notes show that there is a definite formal pattern which is used to explain the nicknaming. The foundation of the formula is personal prestige. A man with strong personality, wealth and influence is marked by some peculiarity of ownership. Here we have a close relationship to personal names which are usually nicknames (see Chap. IX). Such a man will exert sufficient influence on a constantly enlarging group as to cause the members of the group to take his name. Although this is a formal rationalization it is quite possible that the process might have occurred. The formula is then applied to clan-names actually derived from other sources so that we find such remarks as

[1] The second column shows clans present in 1927 as checked by Dr. Leslie White.

those found in Notes on clans 47 and 48: A group is named Turkey from a man who owned a turkey; a clan is named Corn from the fact that its members raised much corn.

No Navajo clan has a nickname. Many of them have duplicate local names but all the real nicknames are applied to pueblo clans. It should be remembered that the clans with nicknames are very real to the Navajo and are carefully differentiated from the "original" clans although grouped with them.

The names in Class IV show another tendency. They are strictly names of foreigners and show varied degrees of assimilation. Clan 25 especially is so old that it is one of the most important clans of Group VI, being second to *toxedlini* (24). Likewise clan 27 is quite generally accepted as belonging with Group VI. On the other hand newer arrivals like clans 50, 51, and 51a occupy disputed places in the groups and informants evince much doubt as to their position. It is obvious from their names and the attitude toward their members that they are strangers or aliens.

The above argument aims to sift the possibilities suggested by mythical rationalizations and to correlate them with the attitude of the present-day Navajo toward his clan. It may be summarized thus:

1. Essentially the Navajo clan is a local unit and in this respect is in complete agreement with the clan unit among the Apache.

2. For a very long time — perhaps even in a prehistoric period — there have been pueblo intrusions. But only the most widely distributed pueblo clans are even mentioned among the Navajo. There seems to be little doubt that, although certain pueblos such as Jemez, Zuñi or San Felipe are differentiated, the Navajo are unable to distinguish their origin. This fact is further substantiated by the characteristics of the totem-named clans (Class IIb) which are very weakly felt. Pueblo features are the result of war, intermarriage and other peaceful contacts. The evidence of them is in the Navajo names for the pueblo clans both local, descriptive and totemistic; in the Navajo rationalizations which follow formal patterns: 1st, adoption as passed down by myth; 2nd, explanations of nicknames; 3d, application of the nicknaming pattern to actual pueblo names. Most illuminating however because truest, although most vague, is the remark that certain clans "got mixed up with" certain others.

3. A few concrete examples show the change from pueblo to Navajo type of clan name depending upon which group the female participant in the marriage belongs to.

4. Navajo or pueblo attitude toward marriages across tribes (extra-marital relations also since offspring resulted from these relationships) would greatly influence the suppression of one or the other type of clan name and the supremacy of the other, the latter depending upon the mother's tribe. Extra-tribal affiliations probably were not sanctioned by either side in early days and there is today a feeling of shame because of intermarriage at Hopi and Laguna.

CLAN CHARACTERISTICS

The Navajo clans are not only exogamic but they are markedly local. They have long been known to be local in name but the genealogies show that they are also territorially restricted. For this reason the clan marriages have been listed according to the particular areas in which they occur.[1] One reason for clan localization is the strong tendency for clans to become closely united by marriage. A number of members of one clan may marry a number of members of another and the two clans become firm friends and allies.

The genealogies present conclusive evidence that if one marriage has been consummated between members of two clans other unions will be sought by both. This is done repeatedly by two, three, or four members of a fraternity (or maternal parallel cousins — siblings according to Navajo terminology) marrying members of a fraternity or maternal parallel cousins of another clan. The preferred mother-daughter and aunt-niece[2] marriages also favor the union of clans. Now since residence is matrilocal it follows that favoritism for marriage in a certain clan favors localization since all the females of the group tend to live near the maternal ancestor. Again the primary basis of wife selection, namely, family standing,[3] makes for localization.

For example, a more detailed analysis of the marriages of the genealogies shows that in small families the number of clans to which the members belong is small, that is, they tend to restrict marriages to a few clans. In larger families the same tendency is apparent but of necessity there are a number of odd clan marriages for it cannot always be possible that there are sufficient members even of large families of the proper sex to mate with a large number of the members of only one or two other families.

This point is shown also by the table of marriages. We find, for instance, that at Keam's Cañon, Ganado and Chinlee the clan *tsɪnadjɪni* (17) is frequently represented and that *tsɪnadjɪni* males marry preferably *todɛtci'ɪni* (29), *tabąxą* (36) and *nak'aidɪnɛ* (25) females with a few marriages in other clans as *tatci'ini* (20), *aciḥį* (32), *totso'oni* (10) *kiya'ani* (22) and one marriage with *ta'nɛstsa·ni* (1), *bɪt'ănĭ* (9), *Ɂastci* (16), and *maįdɛskijni* (33) each. The few *tsɪnadjɪni* men at Lukachukai have chosen *todokǫji* (35) and *tabąxą* (36) mates.

On the other hand, the females of the clan *tsɪnadjɪni* (their distribution is about the same as that of the males) have married most frequently into the clans *tatci'ini* (20), *kiya'ani* (22), *maįdɛskijni* (33) and *tsɛndjikini* (38), more rarely into *hacyą'atso'* (6), *totso'oni* (10), *haclijni* (12), *todɛtci'ini* (29) and *tabąxą* (36). Another noteworthy

[1] See table pp. 42—44.
[2] See p. 62.
[3] See p. 68.

fact is that only three individuals of clan *tsınadjını* (17) are found at Shiprock where the largest number of marriages were recorded and the largest area was accounted for. A few are found at Lukachukai.

Let us look at the distribution and types of mating of *kınltci'ni* (15). The predominance of this clan at Lukachukai is an outstanding feature and its relative scarcity in other areas is as noticeable, especially since it is one of the largest clans. A few marriages were recorded near Shiprock and very few at Ganado and Keam's Cañon. The men of the *kınltci'ini* clan have preferred to marry women of *kiya'ani* (22), *tatci'ini* (20), *totso'oni* (10), *aciḥį* (32), *todokǫji* (35) and *tabąxą* (36), while the women have chosen husbands primarily from *bił'ăñĭ* (9), *kiya'ani* (22), *todokǫji* (35), *tabąxą* (36), *Ɂastci* (16), *toxedlini* (24) (especially at Shiprock), *todɛtci'ini* (29), and *aciḥį* (32).

These two examples are sufficient to illustrate the extreme localization of the Navajo clans and a perusal of the table[1] showing the individual clan membership serves also to emphasize the local characteristics. The fact that some clans are very much larger than others may very well be a reason why marriages seem to be "preferred" with those clans. For certainly there is a much wider choice of mates in these strong clans than in the smaller ones. But it will be seen also that the figures for the large clans, while naturally more widely distributed than those for the small ones, are nevertheless large for certain areas and small for others. Thus, the largest clan, *tatci'ini* (20) is much larger in the Shiprock area than elsewhere although the figures for other regions and Keam's Cañon are by no means negligible. Many are found at Crown Point, Tohatchi Mt., Ft. Defiance, and Wide Ruins. There are only a few at Black Mt. and Kayenta, none at Tuba City. Clan 29 (*todɛtci'ini*) is another case in point. It is a large clan in the Shiprock-Ft. Defiance region but small elsewhere. Again *kınltci'ini* (15) is very large from Lukachukai to Ft. Defiance and Wide Ruins and quite large at Kayenta, small at other places and absent entirely at Cañoncito and Tuba City.

Now though the size of clan may be the cause for preferential clan marriage it may also be the result. Cause and effect are here as with many other ethnological phenomena, difficult to separate, and it is more than probable that what had once been cause became effect which in its turn again became cause. Matrilocal residence has been suggested as a reason for the Navajo type of clan. The family settles in the mother's home, affiliates itself with the clans round about and encourages marriage with the well-known, well-liked clans. I should like to repeat that this is the tendency, but I should not like to be understood to imply that there is any hard and fast rule about local marriages.[2] As is well-known the Navajo are great travellers and crossing the Lukachukai Mountains or journeying one

[1] See p. 22—24.
[2] See Chap. VI.

or two hundred miles for a visit are considered no greater undertakings for them than a trip on the subway is for us. Thus it may happen that an *aciḥi* family, from Beautiful Mountain might visit at Ganado and while there discover a likely *todɛtci'ini* mate for one of its sons. The son upon marriage would, according to custom, live at Ganado with his wife. But the distribution of clan members would depend too upon the sex of the migrating clan members, for it will easily be seen that if the *aciḥi* who married at Ganado were a woman she would normally take her *todɛtci'ini* husband to Beautiful Mt. to live. So, although circumstances, especially modern conditions, may cause a change of residence, the custom of residing with the wife's mother makes for relative permanence.

SIZE AND DISTRI-

The size of the clans in the intensively studied

Abbreviations: Sh = Shiprock; L = Lukachukai;

Clan Membership

Clan	Male													Mar
	Married					Unmarried								
	Sh	L	KC	G	C	Sh	L	KC	G	C	Sh	L	KC	
1	15	3	8	4	—	7	—	4	4	—	27	6	5	
2	4	5	3	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	9	2	—	
3	—	2	1	5	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	5	
4	—	6	1	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	5	2	
5	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
6	3	7	1	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	4	—	
7	14	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	17	—	—	
8	15	2	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	19	2	—	
9	6	23	5	—	—	10	—	1	—	—	11	18	3	
10	—	5	7	16	2	—	2	2	6	—	—	11	2	
11	—	—	11	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	5	
12	17	5	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	18	5	—	
13	8	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	11	—	—	
14	12	3	13	1	2	1	—	11	—	—	5	2	14	
15	7	37	1	1	—	—	18	—	—	—	4	45	—	
16	14	12	17	—	—	1	1	16	—	—	12	7	20	
17	—	3	7	15	5	1	—	3	17	3	2	—	11	
18	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	
19	4	3	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	—	
20	51	26	35	7	2	12	9	24	—	—	62	42	34	
21	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	
22	1	32	27	11	1	—	13	36	12	—	6	30	42	
23	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	

The analysis of marriages shows also that the alliance of clans by marriage varies a little according as the reckoning is by males or females. This phenomenon is a direct result of differences of sex ratio in fraternities and in clans.

Generally speaking, the prominence of various clans in the four principal areas investigated is as follows:

Shiprock: *tatci'ini* (20), *aciḥį* (32), *nak'aidınɛ* (25), *toxedlini* (24), *tanɛstsani* (1), *tsınsak'adınɛ* (28), *lok'adınɛ* (8)

Lukachukai: *tatci'ini* (20), *todɛtci'ini* (29), *kınłıtci'ini* (15), *kiya'ani* (22), *bił'ăni* (9), *maįdɛskijni* (33).

Keam's Cañon: *tatci'ini* (20), *todɛtci'ini* (29), *kiya'ani* (22), *tabąxą* (36).

Ganado: *totso'oni* (10), *tsınadjıni* (17), *tsɛndjikini* (38), *tabąxą* (36).

BUTION OF CLANS

regions is shown by the following table:

KC = Keam's Cañon; G = Ganado; C = Chinlee.

by Individuals

Female							Sex unknown					Total
ried		Unmarried										
G	C	Sh	L	KC	G	C	Sh	L	KC	G	C	
8	—	5	—	1	2	—	6	—	—	3	—	108
—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	29
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	19
—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	21
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
4	—	—	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	32
—	—	8	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	50
—	—	8	—	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	60
—	3	5	2	2	—	—	4	14	—	—	—	107
15	3	—	—	1	3	—	—	11	—	5	—	91
—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	18
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	16	1	—	—	—	64
—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	30
—	—	2	—	14	—	—	8	—	2	—	—	90
2	—	—	17	—	—	—	4	40	—	9	—	185
—	—	3	—	12	—	—	11	—	4	—	—	130
21	5	—	—	4	16	—	—	—	12	1	—	126
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	4
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	5	—	2	—	27
4	—	7	4	18	—	—	18	25	3	2	—	385
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	—	—	—	—	19
19	—	1	9	37	6	—	—	20	6	19	—	328
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
												1925

Clan	Male												
	Married					Unmarried					Mar		
	Sh	L	KC	G	C	Sh	L	KC	G	C	Sh	L	KC
24	20	10	2	—	—	12	7	3	—	—	22	14	3
25	31	17	7	3	—	7	2	—	—	—	30	13	—
28	22	—	—	—	—	13	—	—	—	—	25	—	—
29	15	20	14	13	5	—	2	25	1	8	10	16	27
30	3	3	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	1
32	38	15	5	2	1	1	4	2	2	—	24	15	5
33	3	22	11	11	—	—	11	2	1	—	—	25	7
34	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
35	1	9	6	—	—	—	4	23	—	—	1	13	20
36	6	23	19	10	1	—	6	25	1	—	10	25	36
37	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
38	—	—	14	11	1	—	—	8	1	—	—	—	11
41	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
51a	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
52	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
53	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

In order of size the clans as shown in this table may be arranged thus:

tatcí'ini (20)	385	*hoyałani* (7=8)	50
kiya'ani (22)	328	*hacyą'atso* (6)	32
todɛtcí'ini (29)	260	*nanɛctɛji* (13)	30
tabąxą (36)	236	*dził'ani* (2)	29
kınłıtcí'ini (15)	185	*dɛstcí'ini* (19)	27
acịhị (32)	157	*toxandınɛ* (4)	21
nak'aidınɛ (25)	152	*xonaya'ani* (3)	19
toxɛdlini (24)	131	*bił'ızdaltci* (21=20)	19
Ł'astci (16)	130	*tsɛdıckijni* (11)	18
tsınadjıni (17)	126	*bịbıtodınɛ* (30)	13
maidɛskijni (33)	124	*dzıłnaxodıłni* (52)	5
todokǫji (35)	111	*tsɛnaxabıłni* (18)	4
tanɛstsa·ni (1)	108	*dıbɛłıjini* (34)	3
bił'ăni (9)	107	*tsɛbɛxoya'ani* (53)	2
tsınsakadınɛ (28)	92	*haltso'* (37)	2
totso'oni (10)	91	*naxoba'ani* (5)	1
Ł'ızałani (14=15)	90	*bił'a·ni·* (23)	1
tsɛnjikini (38)	68	*Ł'ogi* (40)	1
hacł'ıjni (12)	64	*yoi'* (41)	1
lok'a (8)	60		

Female							Sex unknown					Total
ried		Unmarried										
G	C	Sh	L	KC	G	C	Sh	L	KC	G	C	
												1925
—	1	5	6	4	—	—	15	7	—	—	—	131
6	—	1	1	—	—	—	6	12	—	16	—	152
—	—	7	—	—	—	—	25	—	—	—	—	92
16	11	—	1	31	1	6	1	1	3	22	11	260
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13
3	—	1	—	1	1	—	18	15	1	3	—	157
3	—	—	6	1	3	—	—	18	—	—	—	124
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
—	—	—	3	19	—	—	—	9	3	—	—	111
16	2	—	4	11	5	—	4	8	6	17	—	236
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
5	2	—	—	9	1	—	—	—	4	1	—	68
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	5
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
												3285

The preceding tables give the results of intensive study of clan population in the areas mentioned, the following tables will give a more general notion of the clan distribution. In order to supplement the notes about clans as given on pages 13–15 the information secured on them will be included in this summary.

It is impossible to put sufficient emphasis on the word *general* in this connection. Informants are human and sometimes on the spur of the moment forgot members of specific clans whom they most certainly knew. For example, *hastin badayai* (Gen. I G, 901) of Shiprock was asked the general question: "Do you know any members of clan so-and-so living near here?" In several cases he answered "No." But *hatali* (Gen. I A, 1) had mentioned certain ones in the genealogies whom *hastin* also knew. Furthermore the areas included in the geographical tables are very vague.

Whereas the large clans are interesting from the point of view of clan distribution and functions, the small ones are more interesting from the standpoint of clan longevity. Matthews records fifty-one clans. Several which he records (57, 58, 59, and 63) no one recognized from my pronunciation of his phonetics. Two, 56 and 64 are place, not clan-names. 50 is not represented in my genealogies. With the exception of 59 all of these were named by only one informant and Matthews himself realized that some were doubtful.

The following abbreviations have been used: F = few; S = some; M = many; NC = no clan; NN = not Navajo; PN = place name; ? never heard of it or did not understand pronunciation.

Group	Clan	East		Central									West		
		Cañoncito	Crown Point (Pueblo Bonito)	Ft. Defiance	Tohatchi Mt.	Crystal	Shiprock	Lukachukai	Chinlee	Keam's Cañon	Ganado	Wide Ruins	Piñon	Tuba City	Kayenta
I	1	—	F	M	S	F	M	F	—	F	F	F	S	S	S
	2	—	F	M	—	—	F	F	—	F	—	—	—	—	—
	3	—	F	M	S	S	—	F	—	F	F	S	S	F	?
	4	—	F	M	F	S	—	F	—	F	—	—	F	F	S
	5	—	F	F	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	F	?
	6	—	F	M	—	—	M	F	—	F	F	—	S	F	S
II	7	—	F	M	S	—	M	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	S
	8	—	—	F	—	—	S	F	—	—	—	M	S	M	S
	9	—	S	M	S	—	S	M	—	F	—	S	S	F	S
	10	—	S	M	M	—	—	F	2	F	M	S	S	F	S
	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	M	M	—	—	S	S	S
	12	F	F	M	S	—	S	F	1	—	—	—	—	—	M
	13	—	M	M	M	—	F	—	—	—	—	S	S	S	—
III	14	—	—	M	S	—	S	F	2	M	F	M	M	M	M
	15	—	—	M	S	—	F	M	—	F	F	M	F	—	M
	16	—	S	M	S	—	S	F	—	M	—	M	S	F	M
	17	1	S	M	M	—	—	F	F	F	S	M	S	M	F
	18	—	S	M	S	—	S	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	?
	19	—	S	M	—	—	F	F	2	—	1	—	—	F	F
IV	20	F	M	M	M	—	M	M	2	M	F	M	F	—	F
	20a	—	—	S	F	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
	20b	—	—	S	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	20c	—	—	S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	20d	—	—	S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	21	—	—	—	—	—	F	—	—	—	—	—	NC	S	S
V	22	F	M	M	M	—	M	M	1	F	M	M	S	1	M
	23	—	S	—	—	—	S	1	—	—	—	M	—	?	?
VI	24	—	M	M	F	—	M	S	—	F	—	—	F	—	S
	25	M	M	M	S	—	M	S	—	F	F	S	S	S	F
	26	—	S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	?	S
	27	—	S	M	F	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	S
VII	28	—	—	M	S	—	M	—	—	—	—	—	S	F	S
	29	F	S	M	S	—	M	M	F	M	M	—	—	F	S
	30	—	F	M	—	—	F	F	—	F	F	—	—	M	S
	31	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	NN	?

Group	Clan	East		Central									West		
		Cañoncito	Crown Point (Pueblo Bonito)	Ft. Defiance	Tohatchi Mt.	Crystal	Shiprock	Lukachukai	Chinlee	Keam's Cañon	Ganado	Wide Ruins	Piñon	Tuba City	Kayenta
VIII	32	F	M	M	M	—	M	M	F	F	F	M	S	F	M
	33	—	F	M	—	—	F	M	—	M	F	F	S	S	S
	34	—	—	M	—	—	2	—	1	—	—	M	S	—	S
IX	35	—	—	M	M	—	F	S	—	M	—	M	S	F	S
	36	F	S	M	S	—	F	M	1	M	M	M	S	S	S
	37	—	F	M	M	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	S	—	S
	38	—	S	M	S	—	—	—	F	S	F	M	S	—	S
	39	—	—	—	S	—	S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	?
	40	—	—	S	M	—	—	—	—	—	—	S	—	—	F
	41	—	NN	NC	NC	—	—	F	S	—	—	—	—	—	—
	42	—	PN	NC	NC	—	?	—	—	—	—	S	—	F	?
	43	F	F	—	F	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	S	—
	44	NC	—	—	S	—	—	—	F	—	—	F	—	S	NC
	45	NC	NN	—	?	NC	?	—	—	—	—	—	?	?	?
	46	NN	NN	NC	—	NN	?	—	—	—	—	—	S	—	F
	47	NN	NN	NN	S	—	?	—	—	—	—	NN	—	?	F
	48	NN	NN	—	—	NN	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	NN	F
	49	NN	NN	—	—	NC	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	?
	50	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	51	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	51a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	52	—	NC	PN	—	F	5	—	—	—	—	PN	PN	PN	PN
	53	—	NC	NN	NC	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—
	54	NC	NN	NC	NC	—	NC	—	—	—	—	NN	NN	—	?
	55	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	—	—	—	?	?	?	?
	56	NC	PN	NC	PN	PN	?	—	—	—	—	PN	PN	PN	PN
	57	NC	PN	NC	PN	PN	?	—	—	—	—	?	?	?	?
	58	NC	?	?	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	?	?	?
	59	NC	?	—	PN	NC	—	—	—	—	—	?	?	?	?
	60	NC	PN	NN	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	?	?	?	NC
	61	NC	—	?	—	NC	?	—	—	—	—	PN	?	—	?
	62	NC	—	NC	—	NC	?	—	—	—	—	?	?	—	?

Although he did not know actual persons belonging to them we may assume that forty-four were living in his day, that is, in 1890 and earlier.

If we leave out of the reckoning 20a, b, c and d, and 46 and 47 as being exceedingly doubtful as Navajo clans we find that in thirty-five years one clan, 49, has become extinct and two new ones, 21 and 34 may have been added. The new ones are nicknames for pueblo clans and from the viewpoint of the previous discussion comprehensible. 21, Red Goats, may be quite recent

since it is not mentioned by the Franciscans but its absence is perhaps due to the fact that it is found at Shiprock, Tuba City and Kayenta, all regions not known by the Franciscans who secured their data from the Ft. Defiance region. Matthews' failure to note it may be due to the same cause. The case for 34, Black Sheep (San Felipe) is clearer. For, though Matthews does not record it, the Franciscans do, and I have representatives from this clan, all from the Ft. Defiance region. Mine are found also somewhat sparsely in the Black Mt. area at the southern end near Piñon and at the northern end near Kayenta. The evidence may point then to the fact that before 1890 there was no such clan, that before 1910 there was and it has persisted to the present day. It is an interesting case as it is the only example of a new clan we have. It is quite explainable on the principle of adoption of a foreign people and nicknaming because of a property peculiarity. But on the other hand the fact that Matthews does not list these two clans is not absolute proof that they did not exist.

It will be easily understood that in a tribe which has maternal descent a clan will fail to perpetuate itself if it lacks female descendants who live to bear children. This may be due to a high male birth-rate with corresponding low number of female children which seems to occur in some families, to a high mortality rate (especially for females) from infancy to maturity or to female sterility. For purposes of clan perpetuation the male does not function.

If we turn to the distribution charts again, considering this time the clan membership from the smallest to the largest, we may note that, in that part of the Navajo reservation studied, clans 5, 23, 40 and 41 are in grave danger of becoming extinct as far as any chance of again functioning is concerned, for their representatives are few and if male there is no chance for recovery.

If, as some aver, *dzilnaxodilni* (52) is the name of a clan it is also nearly extinct. It may however become larger since the member known at Shiprock is a woman and has four children. Chee Dodge says a few live at Angel Peak but he does not know their sex. As for 53 only two men are known at Shiprock. It may well be however that these should be counted with 34 since the clan is said to have two names.

Clans 23 and 39 may be said to be small because of natural depletion of their members. Other causes for smallness of clans are:

1. (a) Pueblo clans such as 5 (?), 20 a, b, c, and 41 are naturally small because not many individuals have come to the Navajo. There are no representatives of 20 a, b, or c in the genealogies.

(b) Pueblo clans like 46, 47, and 48 are usually thought of with other, more typical, Navajo names.

2. Nicknamed clans are confined to small groups and depend primarily upon individual influence (*e. g.* 21) in a restricted area.

3. Clans such as 42 and 44 have duplicate place-names one of which is more popular than the other.

In general it seems that the Navajo clan has had considerable stability for a period of at least forty or fifty years.

Due perhaps in part to this stability there is in the Navajo mind, no consciousness of the process of clan extinction just discussed for I have found no evidence of adoption into a clan for the purpose of keeping it alive when its own descendants fail. This feature is in direct contrast to conditions prevailing elsewhere. For example on the Northwest Coast[1] not only are children continually adopted to keep a clan alive, but even after a sib has been defunct for years to all intents and purposes, it may, by a ceremony, be revived in a purely artificial manner. This custom can be readily understood in the light of Northwest Coast culture since the sibs exist primarily for passing on rank and privilege. Since this is the case the members of the clan are made ruthlessly aware of the fact when the clan is in danger of dying out and artificial means are used to prevent the contingency from arising.

But it is not necessary to go so far afield to find a similar custom. In Laguna[2] clans occasionally adopt members so that ritualistic property (songs and prayers) may have a keeper. And at the Hopi village of Mishongnovi about two generations ago the Snake clan was dying out. Extinction of the Snake clan would have meant that the Snake Dance could no longer be given as there would have been no Snake priests. A Snake woman from Oraibi was imported to marry a Mishongnovi man and her descendants are the present Snake priests. The latter illustration shows a borrowing from another village of the same clan rather than the adoption of an individual of another clan, but the consciousness of future clan extinction was definitely present. Psychologically the reason for adoption is the same as that on the Northwest Coast. Among the Navajo clan functions do not relate so intimately to property, either material or spiritual, so it is not necessary that it be passed on to a clan member although it is much preferred to do so.[3] The possession of religious property (chants, with accompanying myths, songs, dances, masks etc.) is not regulated by clans. That is, there is no fixed stipulation that certain duties must be performed by members of particular clans or that they only may possess the necessary paraphernalia.

A consideration of Navajo clan functions will show best the elasticity of clan affiliation which is possible regarding religious duties and privileges.

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[1] Personal information from Prof. Boas.
[2] Parsons, E. C. Laguna Genealogies, PaAM 19: 207. *Cp.* also Goldfrank, p. 15.
[3] See Chap. VIII.

CLAN FUNCTIONS

Compared with western pueblo clan functions those of the Navajo are relatively simple. The main function is to regulate marriage and in doing so indirectly to affiliate clans. By bringing clans into close relationship through encouraging marriages between them the clan performs an economic function. For naturally, if clan members are exchanged, as when a brother and sister marry a sister and a brother the gifts passing between the clans tend to neutralize one another. Or, if three brothers of one clan marry three sisters of another the second gains in wealth while the first becomes more closely related through good-will. Thus there is a constant interchange.

The Navajo clan has no political functions. Those who are at present called clan heads fill a position which is artificial in the old Navajo organization. Most of the informants say there was no such thing as a clan head. Political functions, such as they were, were vested in the Peace and War chiefs whose functions and clan affiliations cannot at present be ascertained. They had charge of the *natc'it*[1] and it is possible that there they exercised their powers. The only duties mentioned, however, are ceremonial ones: the naming of infants and the performance of ritual relating to peace and war. There is no evidence that any of the duties or privileges were dependent upon clan, but only upon ability, bravery and perhaps good luck. The chiefs of to-day are really only intermediaries between the U. S. Government and the Navajo of their districts. They have great influence over the people and oftentimes are the means by which the whites come to an understanding with the Indians. However their duties are in no way related to the clan and their office does not correspond in the least degree to ancient Navajo custom. The Franciscan Fathers[2] have the best description of the political organization and there is nothing to lead one to suppose that clans had any part in it.

At first glance it would appear that in religious matters the clan played no role at all. One thing is clear, namely, that the chants are not clan property. They are individual possessions which can be secured primarily only by those having and proving sufficient intelligence, not only to learn them, but to learn them well. The custodian of a chant teaches it preferably to his son who is, of course, not a member of his clan. But if all the sons fail to be interested in learning the chant, or if they lack the ability (the standard of which is high) the chanter might teach his ritual to anyone who fulfils the requirements. There are numerous examples to substantiate this custom. Blue Eyes (Gen. II A, 1) who is the leader of the intelligensia of Lukachukai knows the *nat'oyɛ bakqjɛ*. He, a *kɪnlɪtci'ini*, learned it from three instructors: one, a *kɪnlɪtci'ini* not

[1] See Chap. X.
[2] FF p. 422.

a blood relative; one a *totso'oni*; and the third who knew the chant best, a *kiya'ani*, his father's mother's sister's son *(bɪnali)*. Blue Eyes himself taught the chant to Gen. II A, 41, his sister's husband, who is a *bɪt'ăni* and the best of his students. Other members of Blue Eyes class were the father of Gen. II A, 41 (clan unknown), a *toxedlini* man, and two men from Ganado. A member of *lok'adɪnɛ*, *hatali* of Shiprock, was learning the Night Chant when he became paralyzed. And although his infirmity prevents him from conducting this ceremony he nevertheless is a powerful singer of minor chants. He learned the Night Chant from his wife's father (Gen. I B, 161) of clan *hacl'ɪjni*, and the rite of *xojǫdji* from his father's brother (Gen. I A, 121) who was a *toxɛdlini*. A man called *hacɣą'atso'* who lives near Ft. Defiance learned the Mountain Chant from his father, a *todokǫji* (35), who in his turn learned it from his *kiya'ani* (22) father. The man mentioned on page 94, a *hacɣą'atso*, found one of his sister's daughter's sons *(bɪ-tsoi)* to be most apt and companionable and taught him his songs and sacred formulas. Here the pupil is of the same clan as the teacher. But there is no mention of the old man possessing knowledge of a major ceremony and the whole circumstance points to inheritance of property (individual, family or clan?) rather than to special ceremonial instruction. A *tatci'ini* (20) of Ft. Defiance called *hatatiyajɛ* learned the Night Chant from a clansman.

The general impression is then, that ceremonies are not clan property, at least they are not kept within any particular clan. But occasionally some remark leads one to suppose that there may, at some time, have been a feeling that clans possessed chants. When Blue Eyes was learning the chant from his three instructors they said it belonged to clan *toxɛdlini* and if a member of that clan should ever request to learn it, he (Blue Eyes) should not refuse to teach it even if the man should not be able to pay him at the time. Another summer's work failed to elicit any further trace of this custom. It may be that Blue Eyes being of a pueblo (so-called) clan and having learned the chant from two men likewise said to be of pueblo clans received the idea from them. However I do not think it likely. Furthermore Blue Eyes asserts that all the major chants originated with the clans: *tabąxą*, *toxɛdlini*, *hattso'*, *todokǫji*, *hacl'ɪ'jini*, and *bɪtăni* — all "water clans." I was unable to discover which chants are attributed to each of these clans as the idea is not generally prevalent. I believe that only an extended study of Navajo religion which would include detailed interpretations would clear up this point. Such a study must of necessity be carried on in the winter-time and necessitates a prolonged sojourn and intimate knowledge of the language.

Chee Dodge says a clan might take medicine away from a non-clan man after his teacher had died or make him pay for it. And Hastin Jake says if he knew a chant he might teach it to his son-in-

law but would not tell him everything. Or, he would teach a relative more completely than one who is not a relative. This idea may be a rationalization of the custom of teacher and learner seeking kinship and using terms as close as can be found.

It has always been assumed — chiefly because Matthews did not record the fact — that the Navajo clans have no relation to the religious life, that is, that they do not have religious functions. This is undoubtedly true insofar as clan prerogatives for learning, teaching or officiating at ceremonies is concerned. But there is another example showing that its truth is not absolute. The *anądji* ceremony which is not considered in the same class as a chant (it is a war ritual and therefore has different significance) has certain restrictions having to do with clan. In this ceremony[1] the man who chooses the girl who holds the wand must choose his daughter or his sister's daughter. The two necessary restrictions are that the girl be a virgin and that she does not belong to the clan of the *bandai*, the man for whom the ceremony is being given. As the man who chooses her does not necessarily belong to the clan of the *bandai* his sister's daughter would also not be of the same clan. Again, the woman who dressed the various *bandai* must be of the same clan as the chief *bandai*, or at least of a related clan. So, although the evidence which might lead one to conclude that clans possess ceremonial property is meager, there are nevertheless, good reasons for supposing that the clan played some part, if only a restricting one, in regulating some ceremonial affairs.

Consequently although Navajo clans have powerful social and economic functions, such as regulating marriage and consequent friendly affiliation and serving to keep individual property within the clan, other functions such as political and religous ones are very weakly developed. This feature is in marked contrast to some of their pueblo neighbors whose clans function most importantly in the two latter respects.

Sometimes mention is made of clan myths which are conceded to be known best by some one member of the clan, frequently a woman. Specific interrogation results in two confli ting notions: 1st, some really believe that each clan has its own myth; 2nd, the clan myth is only the portion of the long emergence myth[2] which may or may not be told with greater attention to details. Most of the evidence points to the second probability. Although the former idea is mentioned there is never anyone who will actually tell the clan myth, the last individual knowing it being deceased, so old that memory has failed, or living in an inaccessible place. The matter should however have more attention.

As regards the totemistic feature of the Navajo clan I am in

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[1] Chap. XI.
[2] JAFL 3: 189; Legends 135ff.

complete disagreement with Matthews[1] and Kroeber[2] and in absolute agreement with the Franciscan Fathers.[3] The only evidence which might be given to show the totemistic tendency is the part of the myths dealing with the five pets, bear, deer, snake, puma and porcupine. The emphasis, even in the story, is very weak and there is no feeling at all among the Navajo that these animals or their names have anything to do with clan. Furthermore, the food taboos which Matthews cites do not seem to me to have totemic significance inasmuch as the taboos are for animals which have no relation to the pets. Matthews suggests that in early times the Navajo may have had the custom of keeping totemic animals in captivity as did the ancient Mexicans and the modern Pueblos. But he fails to note the fact that animals were kept in captivity for religious and sacrificial purposes only, and that the kind of animals kept had nothing to do with clan or totem. Since his whole discussion of this subject is based on probabilities rather than on known customs, I will venture another possible explanation. The whole Navajo emergence and creation legend fits reasonably well into the Southwest (Mexican) pattern even though it has added much and adapted the form to its own purposes. Furthermore the southern Athapascans are surrounded by neighbors whose clans have names which might be interpreted as totem names. The remark of Charley of Wide Ruins about the bear as mother has a definite totemistic flavor but his further remark as to her failure to help the Navajo shows the absence of a totem idea. There is an incident[4] in Navajo mythology which might have given rise to Charley's concept. After her younger brother had subdued the Bear-Maiden he commanded her "... be ever a friend to your people, the *din'é*. Go yonder to Black Mountain *(Dzilizin)* and dwell there." And the incident concludes, "There are now in Black Mountain many bears which are descended from this bear." I can find no reference which would give the idea that people were descended from bears but the transformation from animal to human and the reverse is not a difficult one for Indian myths to achieve.

May it not be then, that these insignificant details about pets and the few localized animal-named clans in the myth are an attempt to include in their legend all of the phenomena with which they have come in contact? Would those who argue for totems also insist that the newer names like Many Goats, Black Sheep or Red Goats are also totemistic? If the idea were strong in the tribe this should certainly be the case but I am sure the suggestion would elicit either mirth or indignation from the Navajo themselves.

I believe that only he who is beset with a desire to find totemism

[1] JAFL 3: 106.
[2] PaAM 18: 148.
[3] FF 424.
[4] Legends 103.

more widely spread than it is generally acknowledged to be, or he who has a thesis that the Southwest clans, Pueblo and Athapascan, have the same origins and development will be satisfied to interpret the Navajo clans as totemic groups. On the other hand, it may well be, as Kroeber[1] suggests, that the localizing tendency[2] of the Hopi tales is a direct Navajo influence. I do not agree with Dr. Parsons (personal information) that the pueblos could not have been much influenced by the Navajo. Hopi ceremonies are conspicuous for their Navajo audiences, Navajo men have relations with and often children by, Hopi women and there is evidence of other pueblo intermarriages. Whether these relationships are sanctioned or not does not affect this particular problem. Then too the pueblos are said to have adopted Navajo dances songs and masks.[3] If there were no reciprocal influence here the whole circumstance would differ from the precedent set by other ethnological phenomena.

Aside from the idea of totemism — neither Matthews nor Kroeber defines exactly what he means by the term which is gradually falling into greater and greater disrepute — the idea of the Navajo *pets* is certainly widely divergent from that of the pueblo totem *names* even if neither are actually totemistic.

The preceding discussion of clan functions has to do only with an individual's own clan. In brief we may say that the chief functions of the Navajo clan are social with very slight evidence of religious restriction as in the *anądji* ceremony.[4] The father's clan has the same function namely, a social one, which works out in a different way. Two individuals whose fathers belong to the same clan no matter if they are absolute strangers will by that fact establish a relationship which manifests itself chiefly in the giving of gifts and in hospitality which is more marked than usual. One of my interpreters, Swett Billagodi of Tuba City, met on the road to Kayenta a man who belonged to the same clan as his father's. As soon as he learned the fact Swett gave the man a parcel of grapes which he had been carefully protecting throughout the rough journey. Swett and the man had never met before.

When George Bancroft and his wife of Tuba City went to visit at Polacca (Walpi I suppose) they met a Navajo woman living there who was a *tabąxą* (36) married to a Hopi. George's wife's father was also a *tabąxą* and for this reason the Hopi family was especially kind to George and his family. This social relationship based on similarity of father's clan or clan-group is everywhere evident but is particularly marked whenever the Navajo assemble for any reason.

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[1] PaAm 18: 148.

[2] Dr. Parsons considers Hopi localization (in space) so weak as to be only a natural outgrowth of family expansion but Miss Ruth Bunzel who has recently worked in the Hopi villages says it is marked.

[3] FF 393.

[4] See Chap. XI.

Membership in a father's clan or clan-group exerts a very powerful influence upon kinship terms also. Two men who belong to the same clan are reckoned as clan brothers after the first generation regardless of blood relationship. That is, a man will call his mother's brother *ɑ-dai'* (man speaking, male relative one generation removed ascending or descending older than I, related through a first intermediate female relative in direct or collateral line). But all members of succeeding generations will reckon their relationship on the basis that these men belong to the same clan and are therefore brothers (see p. 84). Without bearing this principle in mind one could not define the kinship system of the Navajo.

Thus we find that although the Navajo clan is strikingly maternal, the father's clan functions as strongly in a different direction. This phenomenon again illustrates the danger of dependence upon catchwords ("maternal sib," "social functions").

IV. THE CLAN-GROUP

The forty-five clans are further united into what I shall term clan-groups. Before taking up the question of function and characteristics it will be well to give the groupings as they are found. If it is true that clan ideas have become crystallized into mythical formulas which have been rehearsed so often that they have taken on a strong semblance of truth, the same is even more true of the clan-groups. In a consideration of these units the vagueness of the myth and the varied groupings of the Navajo individuals are notable.

It is unusual to find one individual who knows all the clans which belong to the respective groups. Each person feels responsible for knowledge of the group to which he belongs and the few groups of his nearest relatives. Furthermore the main groups are relatively fixed and therefore known by the majority of the people. However, certain medicine-men who are looked up to by those not possessing esoteric knowledge have the clans very clearly grouped in their minds and are considered authorities when a dispute arises. All of the clan-groups here given are based on information received from men versed in tribal matters corroborated by members of the various groups as the question came up from time to time. Hence, I give the clan-groups as described by the following informants: Hastin Jake of Crown Point; Roan Horse and others of Ft. Defiance; *holyan* of Tohatchi Mt.; Chee Dodge of Crystal; *hatali*, Sandoval, and *hastin bɑdɑɣai'* all of Shiprock; Charley of Wide Ruins; Red Horse of Black Mt.; and George Bancroft of Tuba City. There are also shown the groupings given by Matthews' informant, Tall Chanter,[1] and those recorded by Captain Bourke,[1] as well as those given by the Franciscan Fathers.[2] The numbers in parentheses represent clans which are considered more distant relatives of the group as given by my informants. The data for closer or more distant relationship are not furnished by Matthews or the Franciscans.

Group I:													
Hastin Jake:	1	2	3	4	5	6							
Roan Horse:	1	2	3	4	5					40			55
holyan:	1	2	3	4	5	6							
Chee Dodge:	1	2	3	4	5	(6)					(52)		
hatali:	1	2	3	4	5	(6)					(52)		
hastin bɑdɑɣai:	1	2	3	4	5	(6)	(12)		(32)		(52)		
Sandoval:	1	2	3	4	(5)	(6)			(32)				

[1] JAFL 3: 109ff.
[2] FF 428.

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hatałi: 22 23
hastin bαdαγai: ?
Sandoval: ?
Charley: 22 23 31
Red Horse: ?
George Bancroft: ?
Tall Chanter: See Group II
Bourke: 9 14 22
Franciscans: 2 22 23 45 46 47 48 60

Group VI:

Hastin Jake: 24 25 26 27
Roan Horse: 24 25 26 27
holyan: 24 25 26 27
Chee Dodge: 24 25 26 (27)
hatałi: 24 25 26 27
hastin bαdαγai: 24 25 26 27
Sandoval: ?
Charley: 24 25
Red Horse: 24 25
George Bancroft: ?
Tall Chanter: 24 25 27
Bourke: 24 25
Franciscans: 7 18 24 45

Group VII:

Hastin Jake: 28 29 30 35
Roan Horse: 28 29 30 35 42=29 44
holyan: 29 44
Chee Dodge: 28 29 30
hatałi: 28 29 30 31
hastin bαdαγai: 28 29 30 31
Sandoval: 28 29 30 31 (36)
Charley: 5 28 29 35 40 41 44=29
Red Horse: 6 28 29 30 32 33 34 35 38 47 60
George Bancroft: 28 29 30 35(?) 42 44
Tall Chanter: 28 29 30
Bourke: 28 29 30 59
Franciscans: 26 28 29 30 33 35 40 41 43

Group VIII:

Hastin Jake: ?
Roan Horse: 32 33 34 38
holyan: 32 33 = 43 34 38
Chee Dodge 32 (33) (34) 38
hatałi: 32 33 34
hastin bαdαγai: (13) 32 33 34
Sandoval: 7 = 52 32 33 34 38
Red Horse: ?
George Bancroft: ?
Tall Chanter: 6 32 33 38 52 58
Bourke: 32 33 38
Franciscans: 32 33 34 38 60

Group IX:

| | | |

Group V: Place Names: 2, 9, 23, 42
Aliens: 14, 22, 31(?), 45, 46, 47, 48 with 60 doubtful
Group VI: Place names: 18, 24, 26
Aliens: 7, 25, 27, 45(?)

Throughout the groupings of the Franciscan Fathers are the most conflicting of all those given but even so we find the rule of grouping holds. Except for them the various informants are in almost general agreement about Groups V and VI.

Group VII: Place names: 5, 6, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32, 35, 36, 38, 42, 43, 44, 59
Aliens: 31(?), 33, 34, 40, 41, 47, 60(?)

Groups VII and IX are the least consistent of all. It seems as if everyone has a different idea as to which of these clans are affiliated. The smallest grouping, that is, of clans 28, 29 and 30 includes only place-named ones. With two exceptions all informants agree in putting these together, but many add other clans.

Group VIII: Place names: 6, 32, 38, 39, 43, 52, 53
Aliens: 7, 13, 33, 34
Doubtful: 58, 60
Group IX: Place names: 5, 9, 12, 30, 35, 36, 37, 39, 42, 43, 49, 53, 55
Aliens: 13, 21, 31, 33, 40, 50, 54

Since the myth element is so strong in the Navajo mind when considering clans it may be well to pause for a moment and see in how far the empirical and mythical data agree. According to the origin myth there were two creations of the Navajo people in the last or upper world. One part was created from corn[1] by White Shell Woman and the other part was created by Changing Woman at the Western Water by rubbing epidermis[2] from different parts of her body. There has evidently been an attempt to reconcile two origin myths and to make them one. The attempt appears to be relatively successful until the actual clans and clan-groups are analyzed. From such an analysis we get a grouping like the following:

Group I First myth: 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 38, 52, 59 with 17 doubtful (all place names except perhaps 17)
Second myth: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5
Group III First myth: 14 = 15, 16, 17, 19
Second myth: 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 (place names: 16, 17 (?), 18; pueblo: 15, 19)
Group V First myth: — —
Second myth: 22, 23 (place name: 23; pueblo: 22)
Group VI First myth: 24, 25, 27
Second myth: — — (place name: 24; alien: 25, 27)
Group VII First myth: — —
Second myth: 28, 29, 30, 56 (all place names)

[1] JAFL 3: 90. Legends 104, 136.
[2] JAFL 3: 95. Legends 148.

Group VIII First myth: — —
Second myth: 32, 33, 38 (place names: 32, 38; pueblo: 33)

It is difficult to assign group numbers to the remaining clans but the following belong together according to the testimony of the myths indicated:

Second myth: 9, 10 (place names)
Second myth: 12, 36, 43 (place names)
Second myth: 13, 50 (aliens)
Second myth: 20, 50 later affiliation (place name: 20; alien: 50)
First myth: 20, 49 (place names)
First myth: 6, 39, 40, 42 (place names: 6, 39, 42; pueblo: 40)
Unaffiliated by first myth: 37
Unaffiliated by second myth: 35, 57

In Matthews' origin[1] myth likewise there are references to two types of grouping, that is, clans may affiliate because of friendship and proximity and these affiliations may[2] or may not[3] be exogamous. These references have value only as they correspond with existing circumstances and should, therefore, be referred to the marriages between clans which are actually found.

Tables of marriages between members of the different clans as they occur in the genealogies follow. These are shown with special reference to the localities where they occur.

The Shiprock district comprises roughly the upper San Juan Valley, the Carrizo Mountains and Beautiful Mountain.

The Lukachukai district includes *tsexʌlį*, Round Rock and the vicinity of the Lukachukai Mountains.

The Keam's Cañon genealogies include Jeddito (Jaddito) and vicinity ten miles west and fifteen miles east of Keam's Cañon.

The Ganado area includes Pueblo Colorado and several miles toward Chinlee.

The vertically arranged numbers indicate the male member of the clan and those horizontally arranged the female so that they may always be read, for example, "*tanɛstsa·'ni* man marries *tatci'ini* woman" where 1 and 20 meet in the same block. The large blocks more emphatically marked out indicate clan-groups within which marriage is theoretically forbidden.

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[1] JAFL 3: 108. Legends 32.
[2] JAFL 3: 91, 92, 93, 94, 99.
[3] JAFL 3: 92, 98. Note too that the myth is not definite about exogamy existing between some clans *e. g. l'ogi* and *tabąxą*. This same uncertainty exists in fact as well as in tradition. JAFL 3: 100.

Marriages at Shiprock

	1	2	6	7	8	9	12	14	15	16	17	18	19	13	20	21	22	24	25	28	29	30	35	32	36	52
1				4		3				2	1		1	2	4				3	1						
2															1					2				1		
4																								1		
5						1																				
6															1					1	1					
7		1													4			1	1	1				1	1	
8	1	1						1							8			1	1		1			1	1	
9			1											1	2				2	1		1				
12	3													1	3	3		2	4		1			1		1
14	1				2		2								4			2						1		
15	3			1	1		1								1				2							
16	3	2		1											4		2			5				2	2	
19						1															2			1		
13						2				1					6		2		2							
20	6	2	1	4			5			2				2			4	6	10	7	2			3	4	
21				1	4																					
22															1											
24	1	1		1	2		3	1				1	1		2					3				3		
25				2			5		2	1				6	5	1		1		2				7		
28	2	1			10	2	1	1		6				1	5			1	2					4	1	
29	3	2		2	1	1	1	1						3	1			1	3					1		
30															5											
35															1											
32	6	1	1		3		4		1	3				1	9			6	1	3			1		2	
33	1									1								1								
34															1				1							
36				1	1									1	1					1	1					
53																					1					

Marriages at Chinlee

	9	10	17	24	29	38	36
3					1		
9			1				
10					3		
12			3				
14	1				1		
17	1				3	1	
19							1
20			1		1		
22					1		
29	2	1		1	1		1
32						1	
34		1					
36					1		
40			1				

Marriages at Lukachukai

	1	2	3	4	6	8	9	10	12	14	15	16	18	19	20	22	24	25	29	30	35	32	33	36	41
1								1			1											1			
2																	1		1		1		4		
3															1								1		
4						1									1	1	1								
6											2				3							1		1	
8																					1		1		
9	1				1						7	1		1	3	3	2		1	1	1	1	1	1	
10											2					1		1					1	1	
12											1				3	1									
14					1														2						
15			1				2	6							7	11	1	1	1		5	4	1	2	1
16				1							3								2				3	1	
17																								1	
19	1																						2	1	
20			1				3	1			1		1			2	3	6				2	5	2	
22							1		1	1	7				3	1	3	4	1			3	1	1	
24											2				6	1					2		2		
25	1							1			1			1	2				1		1		2		
29				1	1					1	2	2			1	1	1				1	3	7	3	
30															1	1									
35								2			4				3			1					1	1	
32	1						1				2	2			4	1	1	1	3	1	1			1	
33		1		3	1	1	3	1			1			2	8	2		1	1			1		2	
36	1						1			1	7				1	6				1		1	1		
37											1												1		

Marriages at Ganado

	1	3	6	10	15	17	19	20	22	25	29	30	32	33	38	36
1											2					
3				2					1				1			
6						2			2		1			1		
10	2	1			1	2	1	1	2		3			1	1	1
14									2							
15											1					
17	1			2				1		3	5		2		1	4
20	1					5										
22	1			3		1					3					2
25					1				1						1	
29			1	3		2			6				1			
32									2							
33	1			3		2		1		2	1	1				
38		1		3		6			6							4
36			1	1		1		1		2					2	

Marriages at Keam's Cañon

	1	2	3	4	9	10	11	14	15	16	17	20	21	22	24	29	35	32	33	38	36
1								1				3									3
2					1							1	1								
3																					1
4														1							
6																	1				
9								1		1				1			1				1
10												1		3		1				1	3
11										3		2		4			2				3
14	1						1			1				4	1	2	2		1	2	1
15																	1				
16	1											4				8	2		2		4
17										1		2				2		1	1		
20	2	1	3		2		3	2		5	4			11		8	5	1	3		8
22				2		1	1	1		5	3	8				2	7	2		1	3
24														2							1
25										1		1				1	1			1	1
29						1		2		1		6		5				1		1	
30														1							
35			1									1		8	1						1
32								1		1		1		1		2					
33	1							1			2	2		2		2					1
38								2		1	1	1			1		2				4
36	1		1					2	1	3	1	3			4	1	1		2		
51a																				1	3

A study of the clan marriages yields the following conclusions upon exogamy and endogamy within the clan-groups: Group I consisting of Clans 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 52 is completely exogamous. Group II consisting of clans 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 is also exogamous. Group III is exogamous only with respect to clans 18 and 19 but clans 14 (=15), 16 and 17 are affiliated in a non-exogamous way.

Group IV: Clans 20 and 21 are exogamous but may really be only one clan. If they are related to 13 the relationship is not exogamous.

Group V: Clans 22 and 23 are affiliated exogamicall yand the marriages here shown would not admit clan 2 to exogamic relationship as the Franciscans have it, neither would it allow the exogamous inclusion of this group in Group II as given by Tall Chanter. Clan 2 evidently does not belong here at all and if Groups II and V are related the relationship is "not so close."

Group VI: Clans 24, 25, 26 and 27 evidently belong to one exogamic group.

Group VII: Clans 28, 29, 30 and 31 are affiliated in an exogamic group but if 38 belongs here as Sandoval claims the relationship is of the more remote type.

Group VIII: Of the clans purporting to belong to this group there is one case where a man of clan 33 married a woman of 32 and one where

a man of 32 married a woman of clan 38. If 13 belongs with this group its affiliation is not exogamic. Clan 52 may go with this group as far as empirical evidence goes and 6 is as closly related as 32, 33 and 38 so that Sandoval and Tall Chanter may be correct in placing them there. The evidence about clan 52 is conflicting, besides very few people claim it as a clan name.

Group IX. The informants show so little agreement about the clans belonging to this group that it may well be considered a group of clans not exogamously related. The few marriages show this fact also.

A summary of the entire evidence presented here shows that Groups I, II, V, VI and VII may actually be considered as exogamic whereas Groups III, IV, VIII, IX are not exogamic units but are made up of clans which may be considered related but "not so close." Clans 37 and 38 should be thought of as separate clans which together with clan 13 may be related to various groups according to the feeling of the various communities in which they are found. In short the data furnished by actual marriages corroborates Matthews' opinion and my own that a few (to be more accurate, five) groups are generally known to be exogamic and those not so well known may have different affiliations which may or may not be exogamic.

That exogamy within groups is felt very keenly where the groups are well integrated is shown by the remarks made by the informant (Gen. I A, 1) who gave the marriage of *nak'aidɪnɛ* (25) and *toxɛdlini* (24). As soon as he had given the clans of the individuals concerned in the marriage he made haste to explain how such a marriage was possible. The man (Gen. I A, 136) and woman (Gen. I A, 135) had been captured by Mexicans when too young to know the significance of Navajo clan customs. After they were married they returned to live with their Navajo relatives and only then learned that they should not have married. No blame was attached because of the mistake but in the words of the *hatati* "they would not have married if they had known."

Since nowadays the limitations of the clan-groups and sometimes even of clans, are breaking down due to white influence one more critical word is in order. The marriages between members of clans which by some are thought to belong to the same group are, for the most part, contracted by individuals belonging to an older generation (persons 50 years or older) when the influence of schools was even less powerful than at the present time so that absence of group exogamy can rarely be attributed to causes of assimilation. No matter how strong the feeling against endogamy is theoretically some cases usually occur within a given tribe. They are very few among the Navajo. The size of the tribe and of the clans may be a reason for this condition since there is a wide choice of mates. A long time ago there was a chant *(itc'ą' hatal)* to counteract the effects of inter-clan marriage (see p. 46).

From the large amount of evidence available it is quite clear that there are two prevailing notions about the clan-groups. One is that it is an exogamous unit whose members are very closely related, that is, they are more than friends, they are close kin. The groups thought of in this way are Groups I, II, V, VI, VII. Various informants show considerable consistency in the clans they include in these groups and there are few cases of intermarriage. The second idea held by the people is that the group has a certain nucleus of one, two or perhaps more clans and various others may be considered related to them either "closely" or "not so close." These groups have no marriage-regulating functions but serve only to fulfil the Navajo desire for seeking close relationship with strangers.

A kinship term may always be arrived at by affiliation of clans, especially those of the fathers of the speakers. From the groupings here given as well as from concrete illustrations we may see that there is a certain core around which individual clan tastes are assembled. For instance, the relationship of Gen. I A, 401 and Gen. I D, 508e which will be discussed more fully later (p. 84) is a double one. If the relationship is reckoned through the mother the terms used would be *cɑdaiˀ-cɑda* (maternal uncle-nephew). But if the relationship is calculated on the father's side it is older-younger brother, and since these latter terms are closer they are used. Now this choice is based purely upon the desire of Sydney, father of Gen. I D, 508e who is of clan 33 to be related to clan 28. Red Horse of Piñon and the Franciscans class 28 and 33 together and so does Sydney but they are not customarily grouped together. Tuli (Gen. I A, 401) the interpreter, had called Abe "younger brother" and when I called his attention to the fact that Sydney's clan (33) and Clan 28 were not usually affiliated he remarked, "Well, I guess they are not so particular when they want to find relationship."

There is however, no feeling that some clans are more important than others. Hastin Jake, it is true, said that were it not for clans 1, 12, 22 and 32 there would be no Navajo tribe. This is of course mythically speaking and has nothing to do with rank of clan within the tribe or clan-group. In each community some clans are looked up to more than others, but that is due to the individual influence of their members rather than to anything inherent in the clan. The important clans differ from place to place. For example, in the Shiprock region *ɑcįhį* (32) is very large and influential. At Kayenta and Tuba City it is considered inferior whereas *bibɑtodɪnɛ* (30) which is very unostentatious elsewhere is very important in these places. Upon direct questioning informants invariably state that "all are alike" or "one is as good as another."

The clan-group has one outstanding negative characteristic which may very well be due to the fact that it is not thoroughly crystallized, namely it has no name. There are however kin-terms which are used to designate members of larger groups than sib or family:

cɪtiyɛ'jɪni, "all my female relatives in the group I control," that is, group as well as clan.

da'łanidlį, all relatives in my clan-group.

The Navajo thinks of the clan and clan-group as originating in a number of different ways which may be summarized as follows. References to the myth are given but the formulations are current even among those who do not know the mythological details.

1. By adoption:

(a) Indigenous strangers were named *tsɛnaxabɪłni* (18) by the nameless clan[1] of the Navajo.

(b) Two alien children called the attention of the Navajo to their people who were named *to'bajna'aj* (43). Two bands of Apache and one of Utes were adopted by *tabąxą* (36). Zuñi bands were also adopted as were the extinct[2] (or mythical?) *tse'yanaṭòni*. These are only a few of many examples.

2. By separation: Some of the *todɛtci'ɪni* (29) becoming weak and tired out with wanderings settled at a lone tree and took the name *tsɪnsak'adɪnɛ* (28); later another part of the settled at *bįbɪto*, Deer Spring,[3] and became *bįbɪtodɪnɛ* (30).

3. By descent from aliens: The *ts'ai'ɛskɪdni* (39) are the children of a visiting Ute girl who was married[4] to a Navajo.

4. By descent from other clans with subsequent change of name: Descendants of *maįto* (Coyote Spring) woman[5] became *todokǫji* (35).

5. By capture: Two girls captured from a pueblo near which was a salt lake gave rise to the *acįhį* or Salt clan (32). Likewise a Jemez girl was captured and her Navajo descendants are *maįdeckijni* (33).[6]

None of these mythical explanations are without the realm of possibility. The Navajo were a scattered people who came into contact with many other tribes. Each clan-group can be seen to consist of nuclear clans having typical Navajo (old southwestern Athapascan) local names. With these are affiliated other clans which we may call alien clans. If these affiliations are strong as, for example, the Mexican and the Ute, marriage is forbidden within the clan-groups. But, if they did not reach such a high degree of unity we have clans which are felt to be closely united into a group such as Group III but have no marriage prohibitions. Some of the pueblo individuals and therefore their clans became so closely assimilated in Navajo thought that distinctions can no longer be made as to what pueblos they came from. It is impossible to tell whether the ruins of Pueblo Bonito, Wide Ruins and those near Kayenta made such a strong impression on the Navajo of today that their inhabitants are

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[1] JAFL 3: 99; Legends 155.
[2] JAFL 3: 100-101; Legends 157-158.
[3] JAFL 3: 98; Legends 155.
[4] JAFL 3: 93; Legends 144.
[5] JAFL 3: 97; Legends 152.
[6] JAFL 3: 101; Legends 158.

included in the myth, or whether the Navajo really knew them when they were living. The former possibility seems to me the more plausible one.

From the evidence presented above we may be permitted a few speculations as to the relative age of some of the clans. Those accounted for by myth may be assumed to be the oldest. An assumption of this kind is further strengthened by the fact that some Apache clans have similar names:

Apache		Navajo
Destchin	Red Clay or Red Paint[1]	19. *destci'ini*
Tzeskadin	Fallen Cottonwood	28. *tsɪnsakadɪnɛ*
Kay-jatin	Willow	49. *k'aidɪnɛ*
Mayndeshkish	Coyote Pass	33. *maįdɛckijni*
Nakaydi	Mexican	25. *nak'aidɪnɛ*
Tonto Apache[2]		
Klugaducayn	Arrow Reed	8. *lok'adɪnɛ* (?)
Gadinchin	Rush	31. *k'adɪnɛ*

Because of false etymologies I have used only those of Bourke's names which are similar phonetically and etymologically to the Navajo.[3] The comparisons are given not with the idea of correlating the Apache and Navajo clans (for it is very doubtful whether or not they may be correlated) but merely to show similar name patterns. For this reason it is futile to try to adduce specific testimony about individual clans. One fact stands out plainly, however, namely, that such alien clans as *destci'ini* (19), *nak'aidɪnɛ* (25) and *maįdeckijni* (33) are so old that they have become assimilated with the Navajo and Apache clans as firmly as the place-named clans.

The following clans are not accounted for by the myth: 7, 8, 11, 21, 26, 31, 34, 41, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 51a, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, and 64. The reasons for their non-appearance are varied. Clans 7, 21, and 34 are nicknames of pueblo clans; 21 and 34, which are named from domesticated animals, are most certainly post-Spanish. The fact that they are relatively recent would not be an absolute reason for their not appearing in the myth. For instance, *Pɪzałani*, Many Goats (14), is not given by Matthews in his first publication of the tale (1890) but is included in the Legends (1897).[4] Many other references to European culture traits also are given in the tales.

Clan 8 which is not in the myth has nevertheless a similarly named counterpart among the Apache and may or may not be old. Clan 11 has a narrowly localized, hence perhaps more recent, place-name. And clan 44 has a *changed* place name according to Hastin

[1] JAFL 3: 111; PaAM 24: 46.
[2] JAFL 3: 112.
[3] I am indebted to Dr. P. E. Goddard for these linguistic checks.
[4] P. 146.

Jake of Pueblo Bonito who considers it the same as clan 11. Clan 26 has perhaps a new place name and clans 41, 45, 46, 47, 48 and 51 are alien clans so new (if 45, 46, 47 and 48 exist at all) that they have not been included in the groups and in most places are not known at all. I refrain from further remarks about clans 26, 51a , 60, 61, 62, 63, and 64 since I was not able to learn of any details except those given above (p. 16).

If we consider the distribution of the clan-groups by referring to the distribution chart, pp. 22 – 24 we see that each group has one or more clans which are quite generally distributed, that is, they are found in each of the three regions into which the Navajo territory may be roughly divided: east, central and west. And just as each group has a generally distributed clan or clans so each has also one or several clans which are limited in area. A simplification of the chart will show this. All clans numbered from 1 to 40 inclusive, if not given in this table, are found in all three areas. The numbers inserted show the approximate distribution of particular clans which I did not find everywhere.

Group	East	Central	West
I	2	2	—
	5[1]	—	—
II	—	8	8
	—	11	11
III	—	14	14
	—	15	15
	18	18	—
IV	20	20	—
	—	21	21
V	23	23	—
VI	26	—	26
VII	—	28	28
VIII	—	34	34
IX	—	35	35
	37	—	37
	—	39	—
	—	40	40
	—	41	—
	—	—	42
	43	—	43
	—	44	—
	—	—	46
	—	—	47
	—	—	48

Another way of summarizing this matter is to show the divisional connections:

[1] Only one member in genealogies.

East-Central: Clans 2, 18, 20, 23
West-Central: Clans 8, 11, 14, 15, 21, 28, 34, 35, 40
East-West: Clans 26, 37, 43
East: Clan 5
Central: Clans 39, 41, 44
West: Clans 42, 46, 47, 48

The bald facts of distribution as shown by this simplification are in part explained by the smallness of clans 2, 5, 18, 23, 26, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43 and 44. The existence of clans 46, 47, 48, and 49 is exceedingly doubtful; their few members are found only in the west where there has been longer and more intimate contact with the Hopi.

In short, the entire Navajo territory has representative clans of the nine clan-groups (exogamous or non-exogamous) and the absence of some clans in each group may be accounted for by their small size, by the fact that nick-named clans are large in some parts and absent in others, perhaps because they are more recent, and by the fact that clans named from pueblo clans are very restricted in distribution and are not included in the clan-groups. Clans 28, 35 and 37 are large and apparently old clans and the reason for their limited distribution is not quite clear.

The grouping, age and distribution of the Navajo clans show that whereas the clans themselves are strongly localized the clan-groups are more weakly localized if at all and all nine groups are found in all parts of the territory even if here and there a clan or two may be missing. I have given my interpretation of the development of the Navajo clan-group. Of the pueblo peoples the Hopi are the only ones who have the exogamous clan-groups; in this respect they differ greatly from the Zuñi and Keres. Since the Hopi have had some influence on the Navajo in the west the effect might well have been reciprocal but I shall leave this matter to the pueblo specialists for settlement.

V. THE FAMILY

It may be thought inconsistent to discuss the family, a smaller unit than the clan or clan-group, last. I feel however, that its functions and characteristics, though in some respects closely related to those of the clan, are in others simpler and of a different nature and therefore permit of this social group being described somewhat independently. I have found no evidence either mythical or empirical, which would convince me that a clan is thought of as a single "lineage" as defined[1] by Gifford. A clan is rather a group of lineages just as a clan-group is a combination of clans.

The Navajo family is unilateral counting descent in the mother's line. The normal members of the family are children, parents, maternal grandparents and maternal great-grandparents, for it is not at all unusual to find four generations living. The feeling about the dwelling is not exactly the same as the Pueblo attitude of trusteeship which Kroeber points out but rather a feeling that wherever the mother is is home. The underlying idea may be the same, the difference being attributable to the kind of house. The Navajo hut is relatively permanent in location but is temporary compared with the pueblo house. Where timber is available it is quite easy to construct although in old days the attendant ceremony required a considerable outlay on the part of the builder. However, when death occurs, the house is deserted or burned and the family takes up its abode elsewhere. Whatever the circumstances, the property idea is one of use rather than one of ownership or of power to dispose of the house. In a single household may be found the mother, her daughters and their unmarried children and so on.

When a girl marries, the mother has a hogan or shade — according to the time of year — built somewhere near her own for the daughter and her family. My observations lead me to believe that the chief reason[2] for a separate domicile is the mother-in-law taboo. For although the husband is not permitted to speak to his mother-in-law and avoids coming into her presence, nevertheless, the daughter and her children spend most of their time at grandma's.

The mother of the family plays a large role in the social and economic life. She possesses a number of sheep and goats — oftentimes more than her husband — and has charge of them. The flocks are frequently large, consisting of the sheep and goats belonging to the mother, to some of her sisters or brothers or to her husband. Sometimes the mother tends them herself. It is more customary, however,

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[1] AA 28 (1926): 389—401.
[2] See p. 71.

for her to see that they are cared for by the children of from seven to twelve years of age, for the mother of a household has plenty of work which keeps her occupied at home. Old women who no longer have children or large households to attend to may also guard the sheep. These remarks hold for normal times when pasture and water must be found for the sheep and when they must be watched day by day — a tedious but responsible job, this herding.

But at times of crisis, as for example, when the sheep must be rounded up for dipping or shearing, or during lambing time, the whole family aids. The mother, father and older children riding horseback assist at the work.

The woman has to do all the cooking and must care for the house and children. When domesticated animals are killed she has charge of skinning the animals and of drying or cooking the meat; she makes all the clothing except the moccasins for the female members of the family and occupies herself with weaving rugs in her spare moments. The weaving in the old days may have been done from purely aesthetic motives but nowadays it is one of the chief sources by which a family secures cash and trade goods. The cash or produce received by a woman from products of her own manufacture are hers to use or to dispose of at will.

Socially, the position of the Navajo woman is high. She has a voice in all family affairs and many times her decision on a matter is final since she may have control of the family purse-strings according to the relative wealth of herself and her husband. It should not be inferred however that wealth is the main cause of the woman's high prestige. For she is held in general regard and the feeling of the family for her opinion is something which one finds difficult to describe. For instance, Mary Philips was not wealthy, but was richer than her husband. A council meeting was held at the Shiprock Agency and delegates from the whole reservation attended. A number of guests from Lukachukai chose to make Mary's place their headquarters. She borrowed sheep to kill from her brother's flock — her mother had her flock far off in the mountains — and did the honors of the establishment in fine style. At another time guests arrived enroute to a ceremony and the same thing happened. So, the mother of the household is responsible for the entertainment which, among the Navajo, means the hospitality which goes with feeding guests and providing a place to sleep. Animals for this purpose are taken equally from the flocks of the wife and husband unless there is a preponderance of wealth on one side or the other in which case each would contribute proportionately. The same kind of arrangement would be made for a ceremony.

As another illustration of the regard in which women are held may be cited the business transactions of Sydney, Mary's husband. He had a racing stallion which he wished to dispose of. Before trading it for fifty sheep he consulted Mary and she advised him to accept

the offer even though the horse was Sydney's individual property. Again there was much talk of buying a Ford and the decision rested with Mary. She decided negatively because they could not afford it. Many examples might be cited to show the woman's influence in the decision of family questions but of course the amount of prestige which a woman enjoys must vary greatly in different families. The Navajo woman works hard and in general enjoys great respect and has unusual authority. The general tendency, even in spite of the theoretical power of the avunculate is for sons, brothers and husband to consult the maternal head of the house and to respect her opinion.

In religious matters the woman has privileges similar to the man. There is no ceremony or part of one which she may not learn if she has the ability. She may learn the songs and ritual, she may superintend the making of sand-paintings, she may say the prayers and, as proof of her complete knowledge of a given rite she may learn the long mnemonic myth. Finally she may be provided with the kethawn[1] encyclopoedia which is given to each singer by his or her teacher. A *todokǫ́ji* (35) woman near Chee Dodge's knows some major chants. Coffee Juice's Wife *(ḥwɛ́bıto bɛ'ɛ́stsą)* who is a *todɛ́tci'ini* (29) from near Chinlee knows the chant of *nato'i ba'ad* (Female Shooting Chant) and sometimes sings it. She learned it from her husband. The sister of *hatałɑyai* of Chinlee learned *nato'i baką* (Male Shooting Chant) from her brother. Although women chanters are somewhat rare, almost all of the older women have acquired much knowledge about minor songs and chants and often sing to cure lesser diseases in their families, or to dispel the effects of bad dreams or of lightning. They may inherit magic words[2] which will increase the quantity of valuables and of animals. Woman plays an important role in the *anądji* or War ceremony (Chap. XI) although there are certain parts of it from which she is excluded. There are times and conditions under which she, because of her sex, is under restrictions but these cannot be satisfactorily determined until a thorough study of religion and its interpretations is made.

The position of the Navajo woman in political life is interesting. Although the political organization (see p. 30) of the tribe is not well known there is sufficient evidence to show that women were on a level with men even here. War set the criterion of political prestige. Names indicate the fact that women went to war as, for example, Mother-went-to-War-when-carrying-her *(bıłanızba')*, Mother-was-at-War-with-the-Hopi *(dabanaihisna')*, and Woman Chief *(ɛ́stsą nat'a')*. At the tribal assembly (Chap. X) women who had achieved much in war had a voice in the council and might even become chiefs. Chee Dodge heard of one who was chief because she had seen the war party kill an enemy. The greatest honor which could be

[1] See p. 147.
[2] See p. 91.

given a Navajo individual was to be acclaimed chief. The institution of the tribal assembly fell into disuse so long ago that the functions of the chiefs are vague but the office carried prestige perhaps rather than executive power. Whatever the privileges may have been they were as readily bestowed upon women as upon men.

In the Navajo tribe restrictions upon achievement are never made on the basis of sex[1] but only on the basis of ability. Economically, socially, religiously and politically women are on a par with men, and the fact that fewer women know the chants than men and that they have no voice in modern political affairs — or at least only an indirect influence — is due to the infiltration of white ideas.

In general discussions of the position of woman there is, I believe, too great a tendency to be content with the conclusion that position is "high" or "low." There goes with the catchword an implication that if the position of one sex is high that of the other must be low. The Navajo data do not bear out the implication. The Navajo man of intelligence is a most important factor in the community. He is the repository of sacred lore which is precious to every individual. By virtue of his ability to learn chants and perform cures he is considered a man of good judgment, a kindly spirit and one who may be appealed to as an authority not only in religious but also in political or other secular matters. He may be made a delegate for the district in dealing with the whites, although nowadays this does not happen as often as it did in the past, for the young men tend more frequently to elect a person who speaks English, hence a younger man educated in white ways.

The notion that in a society having mother-descent and the avunculate the father is a nonentity in the household is also an erroneous one. The Navajo father, although he is not constantly busy as is the mother, has important duties. He attends to the horses and cattle, regulates irrigation and cultivates the crops. The children have about the same attitude toward the father as our children have — except that they do not consider him the family bank! When he sits about the home he plays with the children and pets the little ones. He takes delight in making simple toys for them. Many children wear heavy silver ornaments made for them by their fathers. Older children and women will sometimes show large collections of bracelets and rings of different sizes which they have worn from babyhood up.

The fact that relationship in the father's clan is carefully checked up and that kinship[2] is determined on that as a basis is another evidence that relationship with the father and his family is not considered as inferior to that reckoned through the mother — it is merely different.

[1] Cf. Legends 127. The argument for letting Changing Woman decide for herself may be based on the feeling that women are free to decide for themselves, or it may be due to her godlike powers.

[2] See p. 84.

We may summarize thus: the Navajo woman enjoys great economic and social prestige as the head of the house and clan and as the manager of economic affairs, and she is not excluded from religious ritual or from attaining political honors. The man enjoys the privileges and prestige of the political and religious life and is by no means unknown to, or unloved by, his children.

The practice of polygyny increases the number of the actual members of a household and it is often difficult to get clear in one's mind the relationship of the many individuals comprising a household. There is no distinction made between the children of the father and mother of the household and other children who may be living there. Adoption is not formal but children unfortunate enough to lose a mother are taken and raised with the rest.

Theoretically the children of a deceased mother are brought up by their maternal grandmother, and the husband goes back to his mother's home to live. In actual practice there is as much variety as we find in our own society since the custom is subservient to convenience and circumstances. For example, the children of five deceased mothers were cared for by their maternal grandmothers, the children of four others were raised by their paternal grandmothers and there are numerous variations. In one case where three small children (Gen. VII, 81) were left the maternal grandmother took the two oldest but the baby was taken by the mother's brother's wife since she had a small baby of her own and could nurse it. Another child (of Gen. XII, 57) was kept by the sister of its maternal grandmother. After a mother had died of smallpox a boy (Gen. II D, 401) was brought up by his father and there was never any woman about the house. Allen (Gen. I E, 701) as a child lived with his father's grandmother because she was an old woman and had no close relatives. Here we find the child considered the protector of the aged. It is customary for the second wife to take charge of the offspring of a preceding deceased wife but it may happen that the grandparents keep the children even after the father's subsequent marriage (Gen. IX C, 703). A Navajo woman (Gen. IX B, 149) who had married a white man died and left four sons. The trader married a white woman the second time and she cared for the four sons. Now that white influence is being felt in some communities the Navajo are resorting to white methods and orphans (Gen. IX C, 721; Gen. X, 39) are sent to school. One child is kept by one of the missionaries (Gen. I F, 808) and Mrs. Wetherill of Kayenta has adopted others (among them is the child of Gen. VII, 43). Thus we see in many households several kinds of children but no noticeable differentiation is made in their treatment. It is frequently said that the practice of the sororate obtains because the children will be better cared for by their mother's sister. I have not observed Navajo families with sufficient intimacy to know whether this is true in fact or whether it is a rationalization but I incline to believe the latter.

In a sense Navajo women are good mothers. That is they give their children all the care that anyone could expect and as long as the babies are well the attention suffices. But when a baby is ill the mother is at a loss and I believe that the high infant mortality is due mainly to the fact that women do not sense the fact that a child is ill until it is nearly dead. This is a very broad generalization and there must be many cases where it does not apply but within my experience it is true.

We may conclude then that although the tendency is for women to care for their deceased daughter's children, the actual adoption depends upon other factors such as economic condition of the family concerned, closeness of affiliation with father's family, desire of grandparents or of the second wife for the children, or other practical considerations.

Except for the example cited (children of Gen. VII, 87) I have found no examples of the mother's brother taking care of the children although the avunculate is highly developed among the Navajo. The maternal uncle has many privileges and along with them certain obligations but adopting his sister's children seems not to be one of them. He must look after his sisters' children but that would imply finding a home for them rather than actually caring for them himself. The personal relation between him and his nephews is a very close one, the younger man having in reality two fathers, one who pets him and plays with him, who teaches him the things men learn and do, that is, his biological father; and the other, his maternal uncle, one who does the same things but who in addition has social obligations and privileges which cannot he shouldered by the real father. The kinship terms used toward these two individuals bring out a little more clearly the intangible difference in the relationship. My father *(ci-jɛ')* is a term of respect which should be accorded to a person an ascending generation removed. My maternal uncle *(ci-dai')* contains the same idea of seniority in the same generation which we find in "older brother." The nearest relationship I can express in Navajo and one upon which two individuals are considered on the same basis is older or younger brother. The term *ci-dai'* expresses a relationship next to this in closeness, it is one degree removed, hence slightly more respectful, but does not require the same amount and kind of respect as the term *ci-jɛ'*, my father.

The analogy between personal attitude and kinship terminology cannot be applied to the relationship between a man and his sister's daughter. In this connection his privilege or power seem to determine his attitude. He has power to regulate her life in many respects. Especially he is allowed to decide whom she shall marry. This is perhaps the most strongly recognized of his privileges although he must be consulted in all family matters. As I understand it family matters are discussed by a family council consisting of mother, and father, mother's sisters and brothers. Each has a voice as long as

there is agreement but if all do not agree the opinion of the mother's brother might override that of all the others. He might, on the other hand, defer to his sister's wishes. But if an occasion should arise like the following he would cast the deciding vote. Suppose a man agreed to a husband proposed for his daughter which was approved by all except his wife's brother. Then the wife's brother would be able to discountenance the proposal and another individual[1] would have to be agreed upon. So it seems that the relationship between maternal uncle and nephew is one of companionship and fraternity with the idea of probable inheritance, whereas the relationship between maternal uncle and niece is one of supervision which may take on an element of dominance so strong as to result in actual power of disposal.

As provision is always made for the care of young children, so old people are usually made comfortable. The duty devolves upon the members of the family according to convenience. The daughter or grand-daughter customarily assumes the responsibility but if the old man or woman has no daughter or grand-daughter the sister's daughter would be looked to next. I have seen old blind and crippled men who were kindly, often tenderly, led about by the young men or women of the family. They usually have a large pile of sheepskins and blankets upon which to recline — the other members of the family have one or two — they occupy the warmest place in the hogan and they are patiently waited on. One very old man near Keam's Cañon was very troublesome. He was blind, very deaf and feeble. He often wandered about trying to get from one hogan to another. Upon these occasions he would get lost and then the young people were obliged to hunt for him. They did this without complaint or outward indication of annoyance. Near the same place another helpless old man lived with his deceased daughter's husband and his second wife who was no blood or clan relative of his. An old woman who had never been quite normal mentally was cared for by her daughter's daughter who lived near Beautiful Mountain. There are in the Navajo tribe those who are poor, there are others who are helpless such as small children and aged persons, cripples and the like, and there are a few who are subnormal in mentality.

The care of the unfit is a family matter which is taken over by individuals who feel themselves responsible usually because of relationship to the persons concerned.

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[1] See p. 69.

VI. MARRIAGE[1]

If pueblo marriage may be defined as "brittle monogamy" Navajo marriage may be called "brittle polygyny." It is not unusual to find a man who has more than one wife. Polygyny has of course been forbidden by the U. S. Government and now one wife is all that is officially recognized. In the past family instability seems to have been common. Instability would account for the large amount of polygyny which prevailed if we accept the hypothesis that the sexes were equal in number. This is the opinion of a number of Navajo informants. The marriage ceremony was held for only the first of a man's wives. If the couple did not get along well together the man could leave. Since the woman is economically independent his leaving did not affect her economical status in any way. The man would return to his mother's house or "go to live with" another woman. The causes for separation vary: jealousy is sometimes given as a cause, laziness on the part of either man or woman or general incompatibility may be other reasons. A woman who does not attend to the household duties and a man who does not look after his wife's property are considered lazy. A husband may leave a disobedient wife. "She does not *always* have to obey her husband but she ought to sometimes to get along."

Sometimes a man may settle a disagreement with his wife by paying her a given sum. The request to leave would then be withdrawn and the two might live together in perfect harmony for an indefinite period, perhaps for life. An example was given of a "mean" type of woman who would quarrel with her husband periodically, each time requiring him to make a settlement in order to stay with her. After she had acquired the bulk of his wealth she might make him leave her anyway. Actions like this were not condoned nor did they happen frequently but they were possible.

From a number of examples in the genealogies as well as from remarks made about duplicate marriages it seems justifiable to conclude that sterility or even temporary inability to function sexually is sufficient reason for a man to leave a woman. Usually the men who have the greatest number of wives one after the other have no children with the ones they have left. Navajo informants deny this circumstance as a cause for divorce but say that the lack of children causes men to be less responsible to a woman. This is merely interpreting effect as cause.

[1] The entire discussion of marriage has reference not to legal marriages but to old marriage customs which were described to me by those who remember them.

Remarks like the following on polygyny cause one to incline to the above view:

"She (Gen. II D, 417) lived with him (Gen. II D, 424) until she was going to have a baby, then she gave him her daughter (Gen. II D, 423)."

"As she (Gen. I D, 672) had no children and was always sick she gave him (Gen. I D, 673) her twin sister (Gen. I D, 674) but stayed with him."

Of a mother-daughter marriage: "When she was too old she gave him (her husband) her daughter."

Another fact which substantiates the viewpoint is that Navajo men and women greatly desire and love children. The tenth child of a family is as warmly welcomed as the first.

The matter of family instability is one which is comparable with conditions in our own society. Families may be unstable for the first few, perhaps as many as five, years. But if two individuals live together that long and have a child or two the group becomes stable and there may be no change except the addition of children for many years. The custom of polygyny may make for stability or instability according to the view one takes. If a man takes his wife's sister, daughter or niece and at the same time continues to live with his wife and to have children with her as well as with the other woman I should say the family becomes more stable rather than less so. On the other hand, a man might take a new wife from another family and thus upset the whole pattern of residence. This might or might not make for instability depending upon the individuals concerned. Men may be found who have lived with one and the same woman for thirty, forty or fifty years. It is not unusual to find that they have never lived with anyone else. Other instances show that men after a period of philandering settle down and remain faithful to one woman. Another type of man goes through a long period of change, he lives with a woman two or three months — or years — then leaves her and goes to live with another. He will have many children in various parts of the reservation. But when he becomes middle-aged he will settle down, perhaps with a woman past the age of child-bearing, and live with her the rest of his life.

The attitude of the woman is not one which demands absolute constancy. She expects the husband to desire other women and when she sees this contingency arising may avert extra-familial relationship by giving him a woman of her clan. But even if he takes a woman of another clan she does not consider it a matter for complaint if the economic requirements of the union have been met.

Tradition has it that one rich man had twelve wives at one time. In the genealogies the record is nine and the man did not live with all at the same time. I have no case where a man lived with more than three at once.

Whereas the custom of marrying more than one woman of the

same clan is by far the most common, it sometimes happens that a man marries women of two or more different clans. But when he takes a second wife from a clan other than the first wife's he is obliged to pay a certain sum to his first wife's family. It is said that a man sometimes secures a second wife from the family of his first wife by threatening to take one from another clan.

Marriage is by gift rather than by purchase. The Franciscan Fathers[1] have given a detailed description of a Navajo marriage. I have little to add, but since the Ethnological Dictionary of the Navaho Language in which it is published is no longer available I shall repeat the description[2] in the chapter on Minor Ceremonies. I outline the procedure for proposal a little farther on. My old informants never heard of the ceremony recorded by the Franciscans[3] of a widow choosing among her husband's brothers for her second mate. It may very well be that the custom has been out of use so long that it is not even remembered.

MARRIAGE PREFERENCES

A discussion of Navajo marriage differs greatly from the usual description of preferential marriage in that we are accustomed to discussions as to the biological relationship of the man and woman who marry. The most outstanding feature of the Navajo marriage is not the relationship of the man and woman who marry but rather the relationship existing between the numerous wives chosen by one man or the relationship between the individuals of intermarrying pairs. Of the 1025 marriages recorded there is only one example[4] of marriage between cross-cousins. In the old days cross-cousins married without social sanction. They married in secret, no gift was given and no ceremony was held; hence the union was not legitimate. The types of marriage we find among the Navajo are, I am convinced, directly related to two factors: 1st, the tendency to affiliate clans and to bring them into close social and economic harmony; and 2nd, the practice of polygyny. The first of these factors is the more important for the fact that polygyny is customary is not determining in any way, but it certainly lends itself admirably to the process of clan affiliation.

Before discussing clan preferences it may be well to review the limitations in choosing mates. First of all there is strict clan exogamy "A person who would marry a woman of his own clan or clan-group would go crazy and jump into the fire." The clan-groups[5] I, II,

[1] FF 446ff.
[2] Chap. XII.
[3] FF p. 432.
[4] Gen. XII, 108. There may have been others but since relationships were pointed out voluntarily I do not think they are common.
[5] Chap. IV.

V, VI and VII are also exogamous and marriage within these larger groups is strictly forbidden. There was one case of intermarriage in the group which was speedily explained (and condoned)[1] by the informant. With these two restrictions marriage may be consummated with any clan or with members of any tribe. Parallel cousins may not marry since they are sisters[2] and brothers.

Different attitudes prevail regarding marriage outside the tribe. Some say that those who marry outside are not the best Navajo. "Maybe it is all right at Zuñi where they do not live so well as over this way (Ganado) but not here and it is not done very often." But the same people treat marriages between school boys and girls in a different light. These are sanctioned, allowance being made for changing customs. Even school boys and girls of the same clan or clan-group may marry although the old folk do not thoroughly approve.

At Cañoncito two Navajo boys had married Laguna girls and though both Laguna and Navajo residence is matrilocal it was said that these girls could not live at Laguna but were living with the Navajo. I was not able to find out the reason but surmise that it is the Laguna opposition to Navajo marriages. At Tuba City the opposite condition prevails at least in recent times. Elsie, a relative of George Bancroft, recently married a Hopi man and both families approve of the match since "they all live together in this way." This is of course the Navajo way of looking at the matter, it is"good" for "all to live together" when both individuals belong to good families. George's wife's clanswoman was married to a Hopi and the Navajo at Tuba seem to have a closer and more friendly relationship with the Hopi than I have found elsewhere near pueblos. I feel that the Navajo are proud of Hopi descent — it seems to add a touch of aristocracy — although it does not generally appear that the Hopi reciprocate this feeling.

The custom of the levirate was quite common years ago but has been more or less abandoned lately. Hastin Jake knew a man who married his brother's widow but soon left her. Others say that a man's brother had the first rights to the widow and she could not marry another without his consent unless she paid his family. Or, other members of the deceased husband's clan have a prerogative and the widow is not free until they give her up. Tuli says the privilege is not absolute, another member of the clan *may* marry the widow but it is not necessarily expected. Tuli's mother's uncle died and Tuli's brother might have married the widow but since he did not want to she may marry anyone she wants to. I have recorded only one marriage of a woman (Gen. I E, 709) with her deceased husband's brother (Gen. I E, 711). George Bancroft was born after his father's death and his mother married

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[1] See p. 45.
[2] See Chap. VII.

her husband's brother — also before George was born — and George always called him "father." Altogether I heard of only three examples. A good many more must exist but considering the size of the population the custom of the levirate is not as prevalent as might be expected.

FAMILY PREFERENCES

Several types of preferential mating are so characteristic that there is no way of determining which is considered best, they are doubtless equally good. Of these types the sororate is very frequent. Both definitions of sororate — man marries sisters at the same time, or a man marries his deceased wife's sister — hold for the Navajo. The cases where a man marries two sisters simultaneously are legion[1] and I have two cases where a man marries three sisters. Twins are considered lucky in this tribe and a man usually marries both girls. There is one case where the explanation is given that one twin whom a man married was sick all the time — failed to function sexually — and gave her twin to her husband but lived with him until both were old.

The remark made in Chap. VII about failure to distinguish between children and half-brothers and sisters applies here also. Gen. XII, 105 married two daughters of the same father by different mothers, both *nak'aidıne*, and Gen. XIII, 1 married two daughters of a mother by different fathers.

From the Navajo point of view the following type of mating, namely, where a man marries parallel cousins, falls into the same category as the marriage with sisters, for the mother's sister's daughters are sisters.[2] Gen. III, 9 married 8 and her parallel cousin Gen. III, 14 (mother's sister's daughter); Gen. XII, 101 married 138 and 144 who where daughters of sisters, and Gen. II C, 303 married 302 and 357, her parallel cousin once removed (303's mother's sister's daughter's daughter).

A second favorite type of marriage is one I shall designate as the mother-daughter marriage. A woman A (Fig. 1) marries a man B and bears him a daugther C. Later B leaves A or dies and A is free to seek another mate. D marries her and when the daughter C is old enough D marries her also, or, as the Navajo put it "A gives D her daughter too." This may happen when A is pregnant, if she becomes ill, if she gets past the time of child-bearing, or if for any other reason D desires another woman. The gift of the daughter is not necessarily restricted to a time when the mother is too old to bear children for there was one case where a man (Gen. II D, 424) had married mother

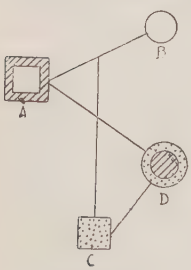

Fig. 1.

[1] Curiously marked also in Pueblo folktales. E. C. P.
[2] Chap. VII, Definitions 3 and 4.

(Gen. II D. 417) and daughter (Gen. II D. 423). The daughter was holding a baby not more than a year old who was said to be her "sister." It was really the daughter of the girl's mother and of the husband of them both.

An exaggerated case of this type of marriage — I do not know that the man was married to all seven women at one time — is that of Gen. XII, 46 who married 47 and her two daughters, 68 and 69; 47a, the sister of 47, and her daughter 70; as well as two other women. Gen. XII, 41 married 33 and 2 who was the daughter of 33 by a marriage subsequent to her marriage to 41. Mr. Lorenzo Hubbell told me of a man he knew, *hastin jin biyɛ'*, who lived north of Keam's Cañon. This man was living at the same time with a woman, her daughter and her daughter's daughter. I do not know further details of the relationship.

The merging of the two types of marriage given above is shown by Gen. X 1 who married the sisters 6 and 7 and — perhaps later — the mother, 14, and her daughter, 15.

The mother-daughter type of marriage has been extended to a third type closely related to it, that is, a man marries a woman and her sister's daughter. Gen. II B, 205 married the sisters 204 and 208 and also 214 who was the daughter of a sister of 204 and 208. Gen. IV. 1 married 29 and also 42 who was 29's sister's daughter. If a wife fails to provide a younger woman for her husband her sister may furnish one for her.

A very complex example shows a mother-daughter marriage which was further complicated by the biological relationship of the men to the women concerned:

Fig. 2. A woman Gen. I E, 723 married a man Gen. I E, 724 and bore him two daughters Gen. I E, 727 and 743. Later 723 married 725 who was 724's mother's brother and "gave him" her two daughters, 727 and 743. From which marriage it results that 725 married his sister's son's daughters. Or, woman-speaking, the daughters, 727 and 743 married their mother's husband who is also their father's mother's brother (*bi-nali*). It is however rare to find marriage between people who are biologically related on either the father's or the mother's side.

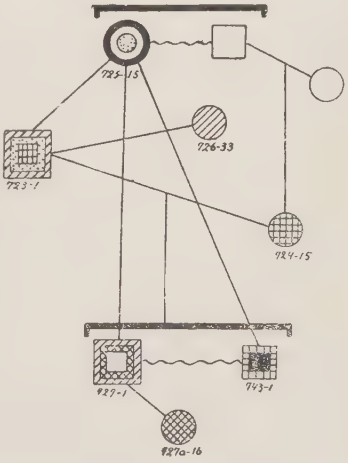

Fig. 2.

All of the above types of marriage serve to illustrate the method by which a single individual strengthens the affiliations between his clan and another. Other favorite styles

of marriage show how clans may become associated by having several individuals of one clan marry individuals of another, often within the same family. Thus it is most usual to find two siblings of one clan marrying two siblings of another. Cases where three siblings of one fraternity marry three siblings are by no means rare.

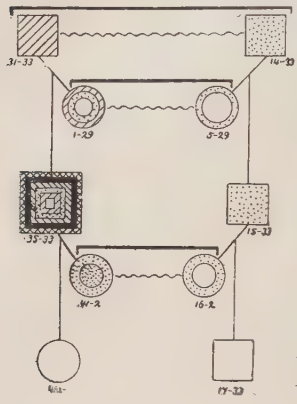

Fig. 3.

Gen. XII, 11 (F) married 16, and her brother,[1] 12, married 17 who was a half-sister of 16 (same mother, different father, hence same clan).

Gen. I D, 673 (M) and his half-sister, 669, married Gen., I D, 672 (F) and her brother, 668, respectively.

Siblings also marry parallel cousins: Gen. I D, 660 and 663, siblings, married 661 and 664 who are parallel cousins.

Fig. 3. Gen. VII, 41 married 35 and his brother 16 married 15 who is 35's father's brother's daughter as well as her mother's sister's daughter. So that here we have brothers marrying double parallel cousins and members of the same clan.

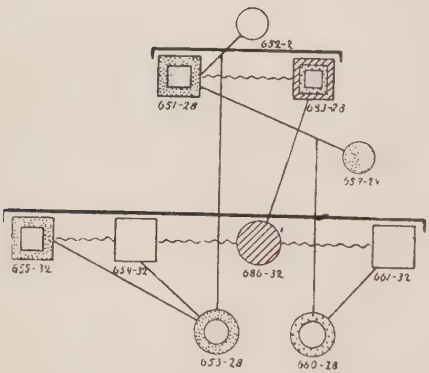

Fig. 4.

Marriages may also take place between members of one family and those of another family but of different generations.

Fig. 4. Gen. I D, 653 married two sisters 654 and 655, 653's half-brother 660, married a third sister, 661, and 653's mother's sister 683, married 686 who is a brother of 654, 655, and 661, so that four individuals of a fraternity affiliate with three individuals of another fraternity and resort to the mother's sister for a fourth spouse but find her in the same clan.

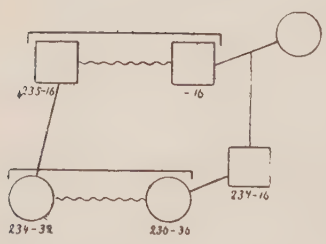

Fig. 5.

Fig. 5. Gen. II B, 234 (M) married 235 and his brother, 236, married 237 who is the daughter of 235's sister. Gen. IX B, 228 (M) married 112 and his brother 221 married 220 who is the daughter of 112's sister.

[1] When I use the terms "brother" and "sister" without descriptive qualifications, I mean that the individuals are children of the same parents.

Fig. 6. The sisters Gen. I E, 714 and 768 married 712 and 766 respectively. 766 is the brother of 712's father's second wife 718 and here we have marriage of siblings into the same clan in different generations.

We find, on the other hand, family affiliations which are extra-clan in the instance of Gen. VII, 56 and 58, brothers who married the sisters 34 and 37 while a third brother 55 married 54 who was the daughter of a brother of 34 and 37, hence not of their clan.

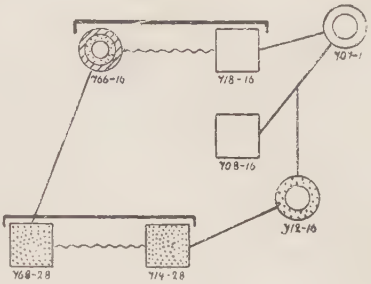

Fig. 6.

Gen. I E, 762 and her sister, 757, married 754 and his son by a former marriage (756) who of course was not of the same clan as his father.

CLAN PREFERENCES

Up to this point the entire discussion of marriage has centered about family alliances brought about by many individuals of one family marrying a number of individuals of another. With very few exceptions (where relationships have been on the father's side) these alliances have brought about clan alliances. Let us now inquire further into the question of clan affiliations. The whole mass of material at my disposal serves to convey a very strong impression that certain clans tend to affiliate with certain others and this impression is further strengthened by the preceding discussion of family marital associations. With no other material, however, we might legitimately conclude that the custom was for *families* to combine independently of *clans*, especially since there are some examples of family marriages which are not clan marriages.

There are in general several types of clan marriages which are preferred and there are locally certain clans with whom affiliations are sought. The general types of preferences are: marriage into father's clan; marriage into clan of paternal or maternal grandfather.

			Marriage in father's clan	
Individual	Sex	Clan	married	Clan	Father's clan
IA, 105	F	1		32	32
IB, 173	F	22		20	20
ID, 504	F	24		20	20
IE, 712	M	16		28	28
IG, 1008	F	25		20	20
IG, 1010	F	25		20	20
IIA, 110	F	9		20	20
III, 16a	F	15		22	22
XII, 46	M	38		17	17

Marriage in paternal grandfather's clan

Individual	Sex	Clan	married	Clan	Father's father's clan
IA, 66	M	32		20	20
IC, 325	M	29		9	9
IG, 912	F	13		25	25
IG, 918	F	13		25	25
IG, 1013c	F	32		20	20
IG, 1016	M	7		20	20
IG, 1019	M	7		20	20
IIA, 16	F	20		22	22
IIA, 56	F	10		1	1
IIB, 234	M	32		16	16
IIC, 346	M	36		22	22
IID, 411	M	6		32	32
VII, 25	F	4		16	16

Marriage in maternal grandfather's clan

Individual	Sex	Clan	married	Clan	Mother's father's clan	
IG, 995	M	20		25	25	
IG, 997	M	20		25	25	
IIA, 102	M	9		15	15	
IIC, 313	F	24		15	15	(mother's father's father)
III, 8	F	15		9	9	(mother's mother's mother's father)
III, 14	F	15		22	22	

A marriage between individuals whose grandfathers were brothers is said to be a good one — *if* the relationship between the persons concerned is "not too close." Here we have what to us seems like marked naïveté. Let us look at the three possibilities which might arise:

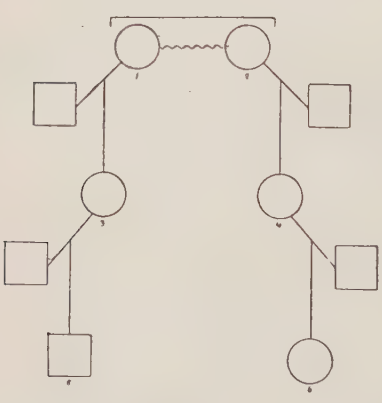

Fig. 7.

Case I. Fig. 7.

Two brothers, 1 and 2, have sons 3 and 4, who call each other "brother" since they are parallel cousins. One of these men, 3 has a daughter, 5, and 4 has a son, 6. It is quite proper for 5 and 6 to marry even though they are brother and sister, theoretically the closest relationship there is. The use of these relationship terms is derived from the relationship through their fathers and since they do not belong to the same clan the marriage is permitted.

Case II. Fig. 8.

Now suppose one brother, 1, has a daughter, 7, and 2 has a son, 8. These persons would be brother and sister. If one has a daughter, 9, and the other a son, 10, they would call each other cross-cousin, *si-zedi*. And although cross-cousin marriage is not approved this formal relationship does not count and the marriage would be a "good one."

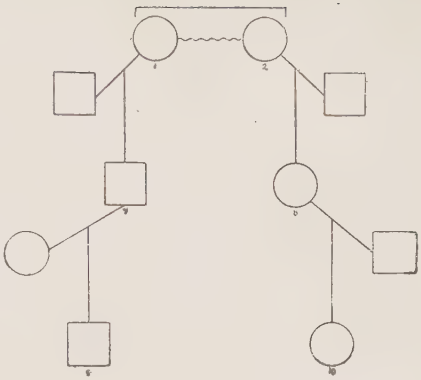

Fig. 8.

Case III. Fig. 9.

One other possibility is that the brothers, 1 and 2, each had daughters, 11 and 12, respectively. The woman, 11, has a daughter, 13, and 12 has a son, 14. The boy, 14, could marry his "sister", 13, because neither they nor their mothers are necessarily of the same clan. But whereas in Case II, 10 could marry 7 and later 9 if conditions were favorable, in this case 14 could not marry 11, the mother of 13, because she is his mother's sister — she is his mother's parallel cousin and that relationship is "too close" to permit of marriage.

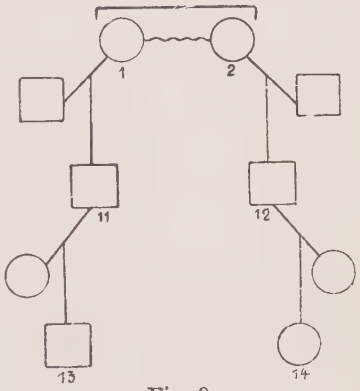

Fig. 9.

These examples show that, although the Navajo generally seek to prevent marriage between close biological relations, social and biological relationships are so confused that the biological are reckoned inconsistently and frequently give way to the social. The illustrations show also that marriage is not absolutely regulated by kinship terminology.

All of these illustrations serve to refute Matthews' assumption (avowedly based on mythology) that clan transmits mother-right and that phratry (clan-group) transmits father-right.[1] Matthews did not know whether a man could marry into his father's clan-group, I have found that he *prefers* to marry into his father's *clan*.

In the chapter on the clan I have made frequent allusions to clan favoritism and it will be well to show here what I mean by the term.

[1] JAFL 3: 110.

The only way in which these examples differ from many of those which precede is that clan affinities may be independent of double family relationships.

Individual	Sex	Clan	Relationship	married	Clan
IG, 968	F	20	s of 1006		25, 32 and 7
IG, 998	F	20	1006's s d		7
IG, 1000	F	20	1006's s d d		25
IG, 1006	M	20	f of 1008		25
IG, 1008	F	25	d of 1006		20
IG, 1010	F	25	d of 1006		20
(this woman married IG, 1011, her bro son's son)					
IG, 1013c	F	32	1006's son's d		20
IG, 1016	M	7	1006's son's son		20
IG, 1019	M	7	1006's son's son		20
IXB, 313	F	9	315's f s		2
IXB, 315	F	20	313's bro d		2
IXA, 401	M	20			(three women of 29 three women of 33)
IXA, 617	F	36	siblings		1
IXA, 620	M	36			1
IXA, 634	F	36	siblings, d of s of 617 and 620		1
IXA, 636	F	36			1
XIV, 53	M	10	siblings		3
XIV, 54	F	10			3
XIV, 57	F	10			3

Many more examples might be given but the tendency for clan members to seek mates for their relatives in a few neighboring clans is brought out by any typical family which has married children enough to pick and choose. But although preferences are very strong they do not take precedence over family standing. The first thing a man considers in choosing a wife for his son is the position of the woman's family in the community. Industry, cleanliness, hospitality and prosperity are the criteria upon which a family is rated. Wealth of course counts for a good deal but the character of the members of the family is far more important. The clan to which the woman belongs is also important but family position necessarily establishes clan position. A process somewhat like the following prevails in choosing a mate: Suppose a man and woman have a large number of children who live to a marriageable age. When they think it time for one of their sons to marry they will look around for a mate in some family which they consider a good one to affiliate with. The girl's family never takes the lead in making a match. "People would laugh" if they did, or "it would look as if they wanted to get rid of their girl." The father of the boy takes the initiative rather than his mother's brother. But if the father is "not so bright as the mother" she might get her brother to make the negotiations with the girl's family. The matter is talked over in family council and in choosing a

wife for a son the father's voice is final and may override that of the maternal uncle whereas the opinion of the *girl's* maternal uncle may take precedence over her father's or even over her own.[1] Now let us suppose a girl is agreed upon, the proposal is made and accepted and the marriage takes place. Then it may be that the girl's family has also a son whom they will later marry to the sister of their son-in-law. Now in the first family there are a number of unmarried children and the second family may know of mates for them although not in the immediate family, nevertheless they will be clan members and mutual influence will be exerted to have them seek mates from the first family. And so it goes until we have an intricate network of clan and family alliances which is so complex that it defies any attempt to discover whether the affiliations are due primarily to desire for clan or family union or whether they are due merely to proximity of habitat. I believe that all these forces are at work but that clan alliances are especially sought; if they can be formed by uniting families so much the better, but if not, then unrelated members of a clan will serve the purpose. The fact, however, that some unions are made with the father's relatives who are not clan members leads us to suppose that family wishes are very little, if at all, subservient to clan influences.

The experiment of asking for clan preferences was tried. A *maɨdɛckijni* (33), Hastin Jake, of Crown Point, and his *dzɨt'ani* (2) wife prefer mates for their children as follows: 1st, any member of Clan-group VI; 2nd, members of clan *kiya'ani* (22). In the same area *tanɛstsani* (1) prefers 1st, *todɛtci'ini* (29); 2nd, *aciɬi* (32) and 3d, *kiya'ani* (22). The choice may of course be due to clan personnel rather than to membership in the given clan, but was given without the slightest hesitation.

In the old days there was no privilege of individual preference unless perhaps it fitted in with the ideas of the parents. Young people might get acquainted at social gatherings — the *kinalda'*, or girl's ceremony, was one such occasion — but they might as often be mated without knowing each other well. Secret alliances based on personal choice such as cross-cousin marriages sometimes were made but were not approved or encouraged and the marriage gift, the symbol of a legitimate marriage, was withheld. Of course nowadays Navajo boys and girls become acquainted at school and sometimes marry because of love but in this respect follow white customs rather than their own.

RESIDENCE

It has previously been remarked that residence is matrilocal. A woman usually keeps her daughters and grandchildren around her until her death. If it should happen that she chooses to live at one of the abodes more distant from where her children desire to live one

[1] See p. 57.

of her grandchildren or a great grandchild will be left with her for company. When the mother is staying at one of her more permanent homes it is not unusual to see many people gathered about the place. These people include her daughters and their children, her unmarried sons who live with her, as well as her married sons who may come for long visits.

While theoretically matrilocal residence is the rule there are exceptions due to circumstances or to preference just as in placing orphans convenience is more potent than custom. If there is no daughter to care for a home upon the death of a mother a son may take his wife to his mother's home and the two keep it up.

Gen. XII, 40 took his wife to his home instead of going to live with her (reason not given).

In some cases residence is temporary. For example, Policeman, Gen. IXB, 110, lived at his mother's place at least in the summer. At Pueblo Bonito *dınetsosi* lives in the Chaco Canyon in summer and at his wife's home in winter. He is obliged to live on his land some of the time because it is a government allotment. Around Crown Point allotments have been made and the government is attempting to have them inherited according to our laws.

Hastin Jake asserts that a Navajo lives wherever he or his wife prefers. He lives near Chaco Canyon because it is a good place. It is neither his nor his wife's. His mother lives far off and his wife's people live near Ft. Defiance.

These examples are more or less exceptional in that the individuals concerned are under direct white influence. But it is said that to take a girl away from her mother's home would be to "break up" the family. The reason given for matrilocal residence is that a man must work for his wife's parents. Besides, in old times, if a wife's family was too poor, a man might take his bride to his home but this was very unusual.

These remarks apply when a man has married only one woman or several women of the same family. But the matter is different if he has wives from different families, a circumstance which happens every now and then. Ramon, a Navajo from near Cañoncito has two wives: one a *tsınadjını* (17) with whom he lives and by whom he has two sons, the other a *hacłıjni* (12). The second is sixteen years of age, lives at her mother's house but comes over to her husbands' house whenever she wants to. She has an infant.

At Tohatchi it was said that a man who married women of different clans would visit between them. At Black Mt. a man called *tanestsani tsosi* married one *tsɛdıckijni* (11) and one *todokǫji* (35) woman. One lived in her own hogan close to the other, but the hogans were not near those of either woman's parents. The husband visited back and forth counting his home at either place.

Economic necessity due to working for white men or to change of occupation causes the custom of matrilocal residence to break down or to appear to break down at some seasons of the year.

AVOIDANCE

The observance of the mother-in-law taboo is more rigid among the Navajo than some other old customs. Adoption of orphans, residence and even clan endogamy may upon occasion be subordinated to convenience, but not so avoidance. I worked with Sydney and his father-in-law, Sandoval, sporadically for two months in the summers of 1923 and 1924. I spent much time at Sydney's home near Shiprock and made several excursions to Salt Canyon where Sandoval lived. Sydney's mother-in-law was never in sight. But in the summer of 1925 as I passed through Shiprock I stopped to see Sydney and his wife, Mary, only to find Mary dangerously ill. Her mother was taking care of her. She had been isolated in a hut near her house. At the time Sydney was not at home but when he was, both he and the old lady located the other before they moved from house to hogan in order that they might avoid each other.

One of my most sophisticated interpreters told the story of his marriage. He said, "When I married I told my wife and her family I was going to treat her mother just like my own mother." Her mother was so chagrined at his lack of respect for her that in deference to her wishes the boy avoided her.

I cite these examples to show that the avoidance custom is one which dies hard. From the point of view of conservatism the custom belongs in the same class with belief in ghosts and witches which beliefs never *quite* free a Navajo individual. I shall give other illustrations to show how desire is restrained in favor of custom among those uninfluenced by whites.

At *tsexilį* a woman sat under a tree weaving and later cooked the midday meal. We were invited into the hogan several rods west of the tree which served as a shade. There were a number of men and women in the hogan and several of the men acted as informants. The women went back and forth between the hogan and the shade and a little girl came in on a great many errands. Just before the meal was ready all but two or three of the men unostentatiously disappeared — an unheard-of occurrence in my experience! Upon remarking the small number of individuals who ate compared with the large number around during the morning I discovered that three of the men were sons-in-law of the woman under the tree. She had sent the little girl for all she needed not because of our presence— she would have been more likely to come herself out of curiosity — but because of the presence of her sons-in-law.

We spent one afternoon at Jeddito. At Keam's Canyon we had met a man *hastiin łɛdjini* (Gen. IX A, 1), who was talkative and appeared to have a very interrogating nature. He was not unpleasantly interfering but of the type which "hates to miss anything." I spent several hours securing the genealogies of some visitors at the place under a shade where a woman presided at a loom. Then

Clay, the interpreter, escorted me to a hogan not far away where *hastin łedjıni* had been waiting for us all afternoon. He could not come over to the shade and join in the sociability there since his mother-in-law was at the loom.

The taboo begins as soon as the proposal of marriage is accepted and lasts until the death of the individuals who observe it. Even if the wife dies the husband continues to avoid her mother. Thus if a man has been married a number of times in different families he must avoid a number of women. Since avoidance begins with the engagement a woman may not attend her daughter's wedding. She may sit within hearing distance but may not enter the hogan or shade. If she does not know her son-in-law she may peek into the hogan through a crack so that she will thereafter know how he looks so she can avoid him.[1] "A woman believes she will go blind if she looks at her son-in-law."

"The mother-in-law of the Sun, *astsɛ ɛstsą*, remains far in the east so as not to see her son-in-law."

Among the Mescalero Apache the group of women a man must avoid is rather extended.[2] Not so among the Navajo. Avoidance here applies only to son- and mother-in-law. Very, very long ago a sister would not pass an object to her brother directly but would put it down and let him pick it[3] up or would pass it to someone else to hand to him. But the Navajo "got over that." I could find no evidence of anyone who observes the custom. It is true that although Tuli never heard of the restriction he felt that a "man would rather get the object himself than have his sister pass it."

JOKING

The joking relationship which is the antithesis of avoidance is one with which the Navajo are thoroughly familiar. As is not uncommon in North America two kinds of joking are recognized. The most extreme permits obscene teasing and obtains between cross-cousins *(bı-zedi)* who, it will be remembered, are not potential mates. The term *bı-zedi* is used by two female cousins or by two cousins of opposite sex, but two male cousins *(bı-łna'ac)* are also accustomed to tease each other. Tuli says he teases his cross-cousins but if they "get mad" he stops. If they tease back he continues and if four or five of them co-operate they succeed in "teasing him down." This type of teasing includes twitting about sex matters.

Tuli says that maternal uncle and nephew *(bı-dai—bı-da)* also tease but do not become obscene. Tuli teases *bı-da* about girls of his uncle's father's clan and the uncle teases Tuli about girls of his (Tuli's) father's clan. Teasing about sex ("not bad") may be in-

[1] But cp. Stephen AA 6 (1893): 356.
[2] Personal information from Dr. Goddard.
[3] AA 6 (1893): 358.

dulged in also by a maternal uncle and niece, paternal uncle or aunt and nephews and nieces. But if sisters and brothers teased each other about such things they would "jump into the fire."

From a very reliable informant I found that the following individuals also may joke:

"Maternal grandmother and maternal grandson *(bi-tsui')* may tease but not bad."

"Father-in-law and son-in-law may joke bad."

But since the Navajo are great teasers and always enjoy a personal joke it is not quite easy to determine where they draw the line between "bad" and "not bad," that is, when it is allowable to joke in an obscene way and when not. Evidently teasing about sex is not always considered obscene and certain persons may be privileged to joke about members of the opposite sex of the father's clan who would not be permitted to carry the custom as far as actual obscenity.

For example, Chee Dodge says *bi-dai* and *bi-da* do not joke. He probably means what Tuli means when he says they may "tease but not bad."

VII. KINSHIP TERMS

TERMS OF CONSANGUINITY

Because of the importance of the clan idea which underlies all Navajo thought with respect to social phenomena, the kinship terms cannot be considered without clan and clan-group relationship. Besides blood relationship two other factors determine the term used, namely, clan relationship and father's clan relationship. The definitions of the kin-terms and the illustrations which follow will show how these three types of relationship interlock.

The following are the fundamental principles upon which the system is based:

1. Generation:
   (a) my generation
   (b) one generation removed ascending or descending
   (c) two or more generations removed, ascending or descending
2. Sex:
   (a) of person adressed
   (b) of speaker and person addressed
   (c) of speaker and first intermediate relative
3. Relative age:

Since Navajo kinship terms cannot be used without possessive prefixes I have used the possessives *ci-(si-)* of the first person and *bi-* of the third when the terms appear in composition. For convenience I use the stems where it is possible. MS stands for man-speaking, WS for woman-speaking, and MWS for man- or woman-speaking.

The following terms are used:

I. My generation:
   1. *ci-nai'*
   2. *si-tsili*
   3. *cadi'*
   4. *ci-deji'*
   5. *ci-la* (reciprocal)
   (6. *sik'is*) (reciprocal)
   7. *si-zedi* (partially reciprocal)
   8. *ci-ɬna'ac*

II. One generation removed:
   (a) Ascending:
      9. *cijɛ' (ci-ta)*
      10. *ci-je-yajɛ*
      11. *ci-bijɛ'* (reciprocal)
      12. *ci-ma*

(b) Descending:
13. *ɕi-γɛ'*
14. *ɕi-tsi'*
15. *ɕi-tcɛ'ɛ*

(c) Ascending or descending:
16. *ɕi-mai-yajɛ (ɕi-k'ai)*
17. *ɕiyaj*
18. *ɕi-dai'*
19. *ɕi-da*

III. Two or more generations removed:

(a) Ascending:
20. *ɕitco' (ɕi-ma-san)*
21. *ɕi-tcei*
22. *ɕi-nali'* (reciprocal)

Descending:
23. *ɕi-tsui'*

The above terms are defined as follows:

1. *ɕi-nai*. MWS. All male members of my generation older than I having one or both parents in common. All male children older than I of my mother's sisters and of my father's brothers (blood or clan), i. e. all my male parallel cousins older than I. All male members of the same clan or clan-group of my generation older than I unless relationship be counted otherwise through maternal or paternal kinship (see p. 84).

2. *ɕi-tsɪli*. MWS. This term used for males younger than I related exactly as 1.

3. *cadi'*. MWS. This term used for females older than I related exactly as 1.

4. *ɕi-deji'*. MWS. This term used for females younger than I related exactly as 1.

5. *ɕi-la*. MWS. A term used for a person of my generation of the opposite sex without designating the comparative ages of speaker and person addressed. This term has especial interest because Dr. Goddard tells me it is used by other Athabascan tribes.

I cite a few notes as to its use in Navajo:

"(The term) *bi-la* may be used by a man or woman but it is not intimate. It is used by non-blood relatives of the same clan." (Crown Point).

"It (*ɕi-la*) is not used by individuals to address a person of the same sex. It means 'brother' or 'sister' but does not tell whether he or she is older or younger."

6. *ɕi-k'ɪs*. This term is here included so it may be later used for comparative purposes. It can be readily seen from the following notes that it is in Navajo no longer a term of consanguinity, it having been supplanted by the more specifice terms, 1 and 2, in the same way as 3 and 4 are specifically used instead of 5.

The term *sɪk'ɪs* "my friend" may be used in a formal way by a man to address another man. It is not considered "respectful" however to use this term to address a person whose kinship is well-known; such usage would amount to insult.

"Suppose you (a man) never met another man before, you would say *sɪ-k'ɪs*. A stranger might also know that the person addressing him is of the same clan or that their fathers belong to the same clan." (Shiprock).

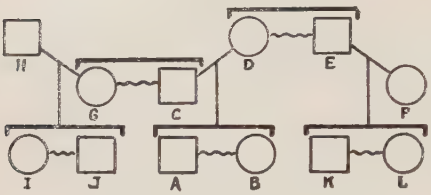

Fig. 10.

"Now women use *sɪ-k'ɪs* to address each other but formerly they did not." "It does not mean 'sweetheart'." (Tohatchi).

"*sɪ-k'ɪs* may mean 'sweetheart'." (Ft. Defiance).

7. *sɪ-zedi*. MS. The daughter of my mother's brother or of my father's sister. WS. Father's sister's child, mother's brother's child.

Fig. 10 B ↔ J, K *sɪ-zedi*
A ↔ I, J, K, L *sɪ-zedi*

8. *cɪ-łna'ac*. MS. Mother's brother's son and father's sister's son. Used only by male cross-cousins. Said to mean "we two go along," or "we go along together."

Fig. 10 B ↔ I, L *cɪ-łna'ac*

9. *cɪ-jɛ' (cɪ-ta)*. MWS. Male parent. The second form *cɪ-ta* is archaic. It occurs in texts more commonly than *cɪ-jɛ'* and is still used by a few old people. I quote informants' remarks;

"It is insulting to use *cɪ-ta* because it does not express a sufficiently close relationship." (Crown Point).

"In prayers *cɪ-ta* is used as a name for Sun. It is the Sun's real name. It is also the name for God. It is an old term for *cɪ-jɛ'*." (Ft. Defiance).

10. *cɪ-jɛ-yajɛ*, "little *cɪ-jɛ*." MWS. All *-nai* and *-tsɪli* of *cɪ-jɛ'*.

11. *cɪ-bɪjɛ'*. MWS. All *-adi* and *-deji'* of *cɪ-jɛ'*. And, since this is a reciprocal term we must include also. WS. all *-γɛ'* and *-tsi'* of *cɪ-nai'* and of *sɪ-tsɪli*. This same term may be used by a man speaking of his brother's child as it is at Crown Point. At Shiprock however it is "more polite" to use *-γɛ'* for a man's brother's sons, although *-bɪjɛ'* is always used for his brothers' daughters.

The same term is used also, MWS. for all *-łna'ac* of *cɪ-jɛ'*. Whereas for terms 16 and 18 *-zedi* are treated like siblings, here *-nai'* and *-tsɪli'* of *cɪ-jɛ'* are called by a term not quite so intimate as that used by male children *(-γɛ')*. Cp. 16 and 18.

Fig. 11 A → F *cɪ-jɛ'*
A, B → E, G, H *cɪ-bɪjɛ*

12. *cɪ-ma*. MWS. Female parent.

13. *cɪyɛ'*. MS. my male children and the male children of *cɪ-nai'* and *sɪ-tsɪli*.

Fig. 11. D, F. → A *cɪyɛ'*

14. *sɪ-tsi'*. MS. My female children.

15. *cɪ-tcɛ'ɛ*. WS. My female children and the female children of *cadi'* and *cɪ-deji'* (my sisters).

16. *ci-mai-yajɛ*, "little *cɪ-ma*," *cɪ-k'ai*. The term *cɪ-k'ai* is synonymous with *cɪ-mai-yajɛ* but is now used only rarely.

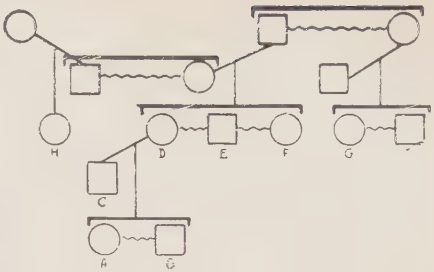

Fig. 11.

"The terms *cɪ-k'ai* and *cɪ-mai-yajɛ* mean the same thing but the former is rarely used here (Shiprock). It is used more around Black Mt., Chinlee and Ft. Defiance."

"*cɪ-k'ai* is old for *cɪ-mai-yajɛ*." (Ft. Defiance).

WS. All *-adi'*, *-deji'*, and female *-zedi* of *cɪ-ma*. I may also call all these individuals *cɪ-ma* without the qualifying term. Tuli of Shiprock and many others use simply *cɪ-ma*. The particular individual of the group of sisters may be denoted by circumlocution when it is necessary.

The use of this term by a man is explained with considerable difficulty. But I, MS. may always use this term for the *-adi'* and *-deji'* as well as for the female *-zedi* of *cɪ-ma*. The term is also used for female relatives one ascending or descending generation removed who are related through a first female intermediate relative in direct or collateral line. That is, I, MS. call all *-adi'* and *-deji'* of *cɪ-ma*, as well as all *-tcɛ'ɛ* of *cadi'* and *cɪdeji'*, whether social or blood relatives, *cɪ-mai-yajɛ*. An illustration will make this matter clearer. Since the Navajo employ no second cousin terms as we do, the relationship is always determined by the relationship of the individual one ascending or descending generation removed. In this calculation *-zedi* (cross-cousins) are treated as the siblings of parents and my (MS.) mother's female *-zedi* are *cɪ-mai-yajɛ*, and my mother's male *-zedi* are *cɪ-dai'*. Whence in Fig. 12 A → C *cɪ-mai-yajɛ* for C is D's *bɪ-zedi*. B → C *cɪ-mai-yajɛ* also. If A and B should feel a term necessary for H and I it would be a sibling-term, although the need is felt only when the Navajo are pressed by an insistent white interrogator. In other words, second cousin terms are not used although first cousins in a different generation are reckoned as parental siblings.

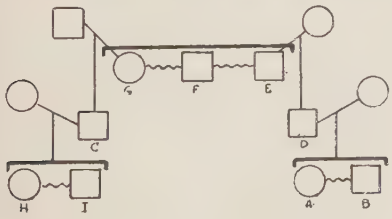

Fig. 12.

Most kinship systems have points of inconsistency. In this

system we find it in the further use made of the term, *ci-mai-yajɛ* which does not fit the definition. I (MWS.) call all my father's *-zedi* (who must of course by female) *ci-mai-yajɛ*. Here the maternal term is used in the paternal line, as it is also in Definition 18. It should be compared with Definition 11 where the pattern remains consistent and we find what we should expect.

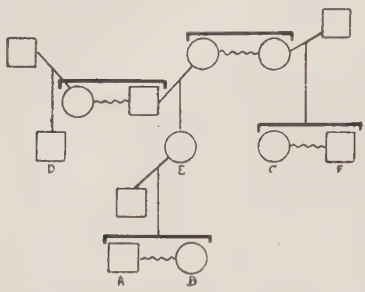

Fig. 13.

Fig. 13.

A, B, → D, F *ci-mai-yajɛ*
D, F → B *ci-yaj*
D, F → A *ci-tcɛ'ɛ*

17. *ci-yaj*, "my little one." WS. my male children and the male children of *cadi'* and *ci-deji'*, and of the *ci-nai'* and *si-tsili* of *ci-ma*, as well as the male children of male or female *si-zedi*. This term is the reciprocal of 16; whenever a man calls a woman *ci-mai-yajɛ*, she calls him *ci-yaj*.

18. *ci-dai'*. MS. All males older than I one generation removed ascending or descending whose first intermediate relative in direct or collateral line is female.

If we view the relationship shown in Fig. 14 from the point of view of A (MS.) we can explain very easily the use of *-dai'* by A. For purposes of reckoning one generation descending *-zedi* are treated as siblings (cp. 11 and 18). Consequently B would be in the same category as C's *-nai'* or *-tsili* and would be called *ci-dai'*. Let us now look at the matter from the point of view of F, a woman. F → C *ci-mai-yajɛ* and we may look at this as an inconsistency as previously discussed. But we may also look at the matter thus; If A calls B *ci-dai'*, then by analogy F should call C *ci-mai-yajɛ* since B and C are considered siblings by the following generation. Because of sex differences here we must have inconsistency. Suppose the opposite choice had been taken. Then F would logically call C *ci-bijɛ'* since she is considered B's sibling. Then A who is related in the same way to B would call his mother's male sibling *ci-bijɛ'* which from the Navajo point of view is not so close. There are two other possibilities: 1. A could call B *ci-dai'* and F could call C *ci-mai-yajɛ*. This would be a neutral course but I am sure would be felt by the Navajo as illogical and inconsistent. The relationship between F and C and between A and B is the same; why not use terms which are relatively close? Or, 2. One may ask: Why is it necessary to count *-zedi* as siblings in reckoning later

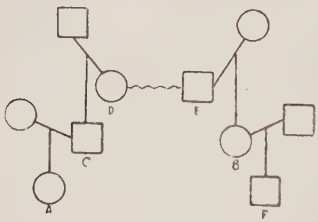

Fig. 14.

relationship? Why not count them as some other relatives? The answer to this question is the crux of the whole matter: because counting cross-cousins as siblings is an old Athabascan pattern. The Tolowa[1] have different terms for parallel and cross cousins but for subsequent descending relationships regard them as siblings. The Hupa[2] and Whilkut[3] use the same term for all cousins. Among the Lassik[4] the cousin terms are regulated by combinations of the following principles: Age, sex of speaker and of person addressed, but the children of all cousins are reckoned as children of siblings. The Wailaki[5] and the Kato[6] have exactly the same question to solve as the Navajo with more complications. Unfortunately Gifford with his 'niece' and 'nephew' terms furnishes us no enlightenment. He is interested — and the Wailaki too, I suppose — in the second and third cousin terms which the Navajo never use. While the terms are not the same the child of a Navajo and of a Wailaki addresses his father's *ci-łna'ac* by terms based on the same principle, namely, that the two *ci-łna'ac* are siblings.

It was formerly customary for women to use *ci-dai'* also. It is found in texts but used rarely now.

19. *ci-da*. MS. All males younger than I one generation removed ascending or descending whose first intermediate relative in direct or collateral line is female. The exception is exactly as in 18. This is the reciprocal of 18.

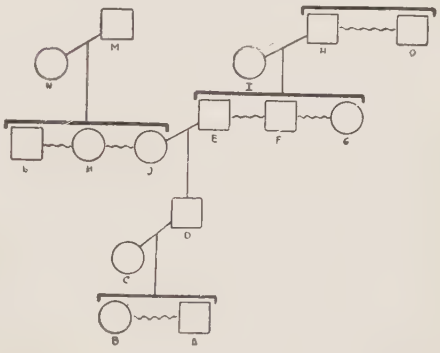

Fig. 15.

20. *ci-tco'*, or *ci-ma-san*, "old mother." Both terms mean the same, either may be used. MWS. All female relatives two or more ascending generations removed in direct or collateral line to whom I am related through a first intermediate female relative. Fig. 15 A, B → E, F, H, L, M, O, *citco'*.

21. *ci-tcei*. MWS. All male relatives two or more ascending generations removed in direct or collateral line to whom I am related though a first intermediate female relative. Fig. 15. A, B, → G, I, J, K, N *ci-tcei*.

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[1] Gifford, UCal 18: 15.
[2] *Ibid.* 17.
[3] *Ibid.* 19.
[4] *Ibid.* 20.
[5] Ibid. 24.
[6] Ibid. 26.

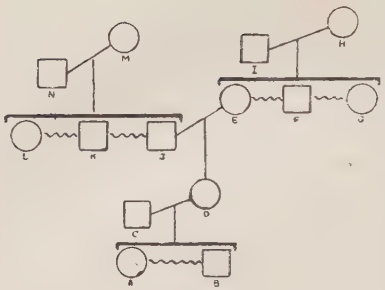

Fig. 16.

22. *ci-nali'*. MWS. All relatives male or female, two or more generations removed, ascending or descending in direct or collateral line to whom I am related through a first intermediate male relative.

Fig. 16.

A, B ↔ E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N *ci-nali'*.

What appears to be an exception to his rule occurs in the following case:

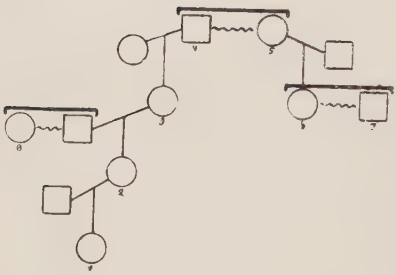

Fig. 17.

In Fig. 17, No. 6, my father's father's mother's brother's son is biologically two generations removed and is related to me, No. 1, through a first intermediate male relative and we should normally call each other *ci-nali'*. But, since his father, No. 5, and my father's father, No. 3, belong to the same clan they are brothers, consequently my father, No. 2, and No. 6 are brothers — sons of clan brothers — and I must call No. 6 *ci-jɛ-yajɛ*; the sister of No. 6 would by the same token be *ci-bɪjɛ*. Socially, we are only one generation removed.

So, by the interlocking of two principles we find that the principle of generation which usually is very strong breaks down when coming into conflict with that principle which requires men of the same clan to be considered brothers. The latter takes precedence and brings, in the parlance of kinship terms, two individuals one generation closer than they are by actual blood relationship.

But this happens only in determining relationships between individuals more than two generations removed, for: My father's mother's brother, No 8, calls me, No. 1, *ci-nali'*, and I reciprocate. If the generation principle broke down here in favor of the father's clan-brother principle, as in the preceding example, I should call him *ci-bɪjɛ'* and he would call me *ci-yɛ'*, or *cibɪjɛ'*.

The two principles conflict, however, only when one man is biologically related to another two or more descending generations removed through a first intermediate female relative in collateral line.

At Ft. Defiance a number of informants say that a man's son's child is *bi-nali'* but his son's son's child is *bi-tsui'*. If only one informant had said this it might be considered an error, but a large group of old men discussed the matter seriously and all agreed. Other old

men were asked independently of the first group and they also concurred. Charley of Wide Ruins also used the term in this way. They say that when it goes down as far as that it is time for the old man to be "finished," and the kinship terms must "start over again." The usage must be narrowly localized in this one area for it is considered ridiculous at Shiprock, near Oraibi and at the southern end of Black Mt.

The occurrence of such a phenomenon may well give us pause in our speculations regarding kinship systems. Suppose such a custom became widespread, as it well might, and the paternal great grandchild should always be called *bɪ-tsuiʾ*. Suppose then that someone (like myself) intent upon defining and classifying kinship terms came upon such a wide divergence from what might be anticipated I wonder how that person would explain or justify (?) the taking over of a strictly maternal term by the paternal side. Some might be content to call it an exception, others might find a tendency to shift from paternal to maternal organization, or a substantiation of some equally intriguing theory.

23. *sɪ-tsuiʾ*. MWS. All relatives male or female two or more descending generations removed in direct or collateral line who are related through a first intermediate relative female. The reciprocal of 20 and 21.

Fig. 15 (p. 79) E, F, H, L, M, O —→ A, B *sɪ-tsuiʾ*
Fig. 16 (p. 80) G, I, J, K, N —→ A, B *sɪ-tsuiʾ*.

See table page 82.

A few special cases, which may be explained by the above definitions will be better understood if discussed separately:

When we find the common and peculiar relationship described in Chapter VI the question arises: how does an individual designate the children of his mother's mother who is his father's wife and of his own father? In cases of this kind the children of my mother's mother and of my own father are considered in my mother's generation as her siblings. Hence I, A, (Fig. 18) call E *cɪ-daiʾ* and F, *cɪ-mai-yajɛ*.

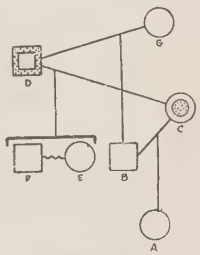

Fig. 18.

The discussion about the exceptional relationship which obtains between No. 1 and Nos. 5, 6, and 7 (Fig. 17) will be more easily understood if we examine a few more cases where the kinship term used depends upon the following rule; Two men who belong to the same clan or clan-group are considered brothers. The kinship term of their relatives *one* generation removed ascending or descending is based upon actual blood relationship. But the relationship of individuals *two* or *more* generations removed ascending or des-

The following table summarizes the definitions: The parentheses ( ) indicate terms used by men, the brackets [ ] terms used by women. The last column shows relationship reciprocal to the first.

	M.	F.	reciprocal	F.	M.	
My generation:						
Elder sibling	1 *-nai'*	3 *-adi*		4 *-deji'*	2 *-tsili*	Younger sibling
Sibling of opposite sex			5 *-la*			
?			6 *-k'ts*			
Child of parent's sibling of sex opposite that of parent through whom related		7 (*-zedi*)	7 [*-zedi*]		8 (*-lna'ac*)	Child of parent's sibling of sex opposite that of parent through whom related
One generation removed:						
Parent	9 *-je'*	12 *-ma*		14 (*-tsi'*) 17 [*-tcɛ'ɛ*]	13 (*-γɛ'*) 17 [*-yaj*]	Child
Father's brother, male children of 8	10 *-jeyajɛ*				13 (*-γɛ'*)	Brother's son
Father's sister, fathers male cousins			11 *-bijɛ'*			Children of 8, woman's brother's children
Mother's male relative older than I, one ascending generation removed; sister's male relative older than I, one descending generation removed	18 (*-dai'*)				19 (*-da*)	Mother's male relative younger than I, one generation removed; sister's male relative younger than I, one generation removed
Mother's sisters and female *-zedi*		16 {*-k'ai* / *-maiyajɛ*}		17 [*-tcɛ'ɛ*]	17 [*-yaj*]	Children of sister and female *-zedi*
Two or more generations removed:						
Parents of female relative first ascending generation removed	21 *-tcei*	20 {*-tco'* / *-masan*}		23 *-tsui'*	23 *-tsui'*	Children of female relative first or later descending generation removed
Parents of male relative first ascending generation removed			22 *-nali'*			Children of male relative first or later descending generation removed

cending is reckoned on the ground that these two men are brothers regardlesso f generation.

Fig. 19. In Gen. I D, 651 calls 507, *cıdeji*. Since their fathers belong to clan 20, the father of 651 is put in the same generation as the father of 507 making 507 and 651 the children of brothers hence they call each other "sister."

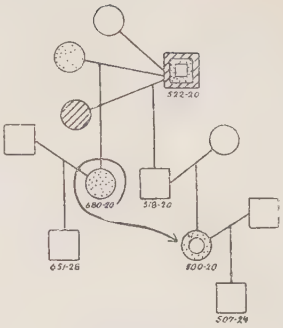

Fig. 19.

Fig. 20. Gen. XII, 1 calls 101 *cı-nai'*. Here we have a male member of a clan lowered two generations to be considered a brother of a fellow clansman. 101 is the son of 1's father's mother's mother's brother and according to Definition 22 he and 1 would be *bı-nali'*. But since the father of 101 is a member of clan 28 he is lowered two generations and considered a brother of the father of 1 who also belongs to clan 38. Hence we have the male children of two brothers (formal clan) addressing each other as brothers.

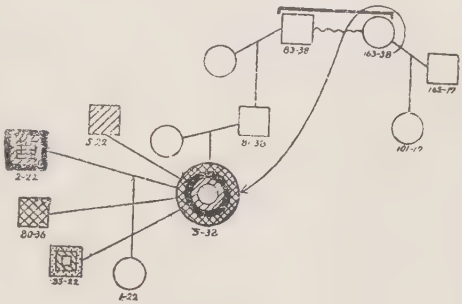

Fig. 20.

Fig. 21. Gen. I A, 1 is related to 105 in two ways: 1. 105 is 1's mother's father's sister's son's daughter and is therefore logically of the same generation as 1. The father of 105 who is 103 and 1's mother's father, 87, were both of clan 32. Now because of their clanship 87 moves down one generation to equality with 103 being reckoned his brother. Then the daughter of 87 and the daughter of 103 are on the same generation level and call each other *cıdeji'-cadi'*, whence 1 calls 105 *cımaiyajɛ* or *cık'ai*. 2. But 1 is also related to 105 through Gen. I A, 102, his mother's mother's mother's brother, who was 105's father's father. Now if the relationship is reckoned only on the side of 1's mother, 102 is three generations removed from 1, and therefore is 1's *bı-tsui'*. 105 is one generation removed from 1 but related through 1's mother hence she is *bı-mai-yajɛ* or *bı-k'ai*, the same relationship which we

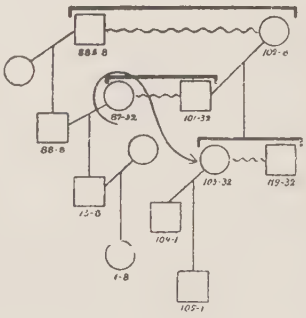

Fig. 21.

determined by reckoning the father of 105 and the mother's father of 1 as brothers.

In the next two instances we find terms for mother and son becoming illogical because reckoned in two different ways. Fig. 22. Gen. I A, 401, calls Gen. I D, 507, *ci-bije'* and the terms are reciprocal. The father of 401 and 507's father's father (516) are of clan-group VII so 516 comes down one generation and is placed as a brother of the father of 401 which makes 507's father a brother of 401, and *-bije* of 507. If this reckoning were carried through further, 507a, the son of 507 would be 401's *bi-ye'*. But 401 and the father of 507a consider their father's clans (28 and 33) as "nearly the same" although few other individuals classify them in the same group and the myths[1] do not. Since they do however we get the following relationship: 401 calls 507a *si-tsili*. The father of 401 is lowered one generation to make him even with the father of 507a and brother's sons call each other brothers. The illustration shows that the rule holds not only for clan relationship but is extended to all the clans which are felt to be in the same group.

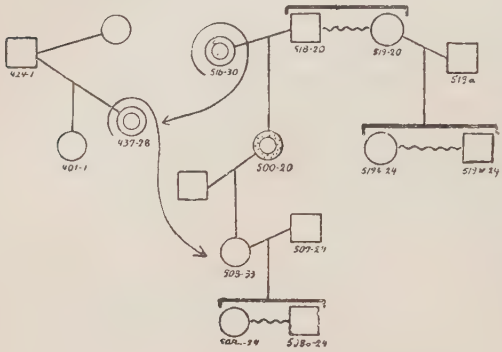

Fig. 22.

It may happen that marriage may make two individuals related through the father of one. In the following case the relationship seems to be determined by actual kinship rather then by clan. 507 calls 519a, her father's mother's brother's wife who belongs to her clan *ci-tco'* *(ci-ma-san)*. This would be correct, for since 519a is of 507's clan she must reckon her relationship as if her first intermediate relative were a woman. The reckoning is therefore a clan one rather than calculated through the father's mother's brother which would be a relationship of affinity and therefore not so close. Here the generation distinction is preserved.

Two individuals A and B may be considered kin because the father of A is of the same clan as some female relative of B. When this condition arises there are two possibilities for terms of address dependent on generation. The female relative of B calls the father (or grandfather) of A either *cidai'* or *citcei'* (maternal grandfather). B will base his term of address on this usage. If he is the son of the woman and she calls A's male relative *cidai'*, B will call him *citcei'* for he is one generation lower than his mother.

[1] See Chap. IV.

It is not possible to predict just which generation term will be used since the determination is based upon traditional generations in the family. The Navajo, however, always know in exactly what generation to class a person.

The illustration will show *what* is done and how but does not explain clearly *why*: In Fig. 22 the fact that Gen. I, 518 and 519 are brother and sister is not considered in determining the terms used by 507 and 519b. The important factor is that 507 and 519a are both members of clan 24. 519a is two ascending generations removed from 507 and her children of which 508a is one. 507 —→ 519a *ɕi-tcoʿ*.

508a is two generations removed from 519b, the son of 519a, and calls him *ɕi-tceiʾ* and his sister *ɕi-tcoʿ*. Now 507 and 519x are only one generation removed and since both are women would call each other *ɕimaiyajɛ-ɕitcɛʾɛ*. And 507 calls 519b, a male, *ɕiyaj* or *ɕidaiʾ*.

If the relationship were determined through the fact that 519 and 518 are siblings we should have: 500 and 519 are members of the same clan, hence brothers (from the point of view of the descendants of 500). Whence 507 and 519 are also brother and sister being the children of brothers.

So we find here that the closest kin-term (sibling) by actual relationship is rejected in favor of one more remote through clan relationship. I presume this condition is accounted for by the fact that 519b and 519x are so much older than 507 that *ɕiyaj* and *ɕimaiyajɛ* are more respectful terms than brother and sister.

In order to show how the converse of the reckoning may be employed I shall give one more example. I had the genealogical material from the summer of 1924 and in questioning Tuli in 1925 accidentally elicited the following reverse process of reasoning: Fig. 23. Gen. I G, 1200 (a hypothetical person) would call 901 *ɕida*. Therefore the clan of 1200 and of the father of 901 is the same. It happens that both belong to clan 25. "So the mother of 1200 must have been a sister of 920 and

901 ↔ 1200 *si-zedi*
1002 —→ 901 *ɕi-mai-yajɛ*
901 —→ 994 *si-tsuiʾ*."

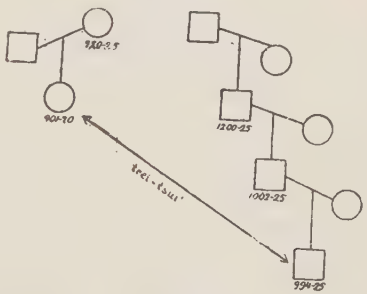

Fig. 23.

Why Tuli chose the mother of 1200, and not 1200 or 1002, or even 994 who are all of clan 25 to establish the relationship is a question to which I could get no satisfactory answer. Certain it is that this situation over which he had not previously thought did not daunt Tuli at all. He knew exactly in what generation to place the individual.

The terms used in this way are terms of respect which may or may not be consistently employed. For example, Tuli, Gen. I A, 401 calls *hatałi* (Gen. I A, 1) *cɪtcei'* although they know of no clan or family relationship. He does it because "it is the best term for an old man." Whether I address a person by a maternal or paternal kin-term is a subtle matter.

In the texts[1] when the Culture Heroes meet helpers, the latter address them as "*sɪtsui' cɪnali'*" since they do not know on which side they are related. It is much "better" to use the two terms and thus convey the idea of doubtful respect than to use a term of mere friendship which would preclude any possibility of relationship and consequently lay a person open to the charge of disrespect. It seems to me that the frequent recurrence in the myth of these terms brings out more clearly than any other example the exaggerated wish for kinship and the fact that the desire may, and frequently does, lead to inconsistency.

TERMS OF AFFINITY

The terms of affinity are simple and few:

sɛ'ɛstsą, my wife (woman)
yɪtɪyɛ', my co-wife
sa'astin, my husband (man)

These are "serious" or respectful terms.

A joking term, *tsatsa'ałi'ᵩ*, the one who cooks for me, may be used by a husband in speaking of his wife.

Other terms are:

ca'ad, my female
cɪką, my male

Mary says they are "ashamed" to say these. Nevertheless *ba'ad* appears as a name in the genealogies.

Father Berard[2] writes, "It is slang and approaching the vulgar to use these terms."

At Ft. Defiance it was said that they are not used now even in private (is this another evidence of white man's purificatory process!).

In-law terms:

MS. *duc'ini*, my mother-in-law, she-whom-I-do-not-see.

MWS. *cada'ani*, my son-in-law.[3] This term may be used also to denote "my mother's husband, not a brother of her first husband," hence "my stepfather."

MWS. *cɪja'ad*, my daughter-in-law. This may be used also of my father's wife who is not a sister of my mother (not of same clan or not having a common parent).

[1] Ms. of Father Berard.
[2] Navaho Grammar, 32.
[3] Cp. F. Berard Grammar 32.

MWS. *ciyɛ'*, my sister-in-law, my brother-in-law, a man who marries a member of my own clan.
MS. *badanıncţi*, my father-in-law
WS. *bija'qnicţi*, my father-in-law

BEHAVIOR OF KIN

The behavior of an individual toward his various kin has been described for some and hinted at indirectly for others. A brief summary will be convenient:

1. My generation:

(a) Sibling group: Brother and sister, and parallel cousins of opposite sex must not be familiar with one another. They may not joke or tease each other. There is some reason to believe that a sister was not allowed to pass things to her brother directly in former times, "but the Navajo got over that." A man should not dance with a sister or a clan-sister. Married brothers and sisters should use the dual form in addressing each other. This custom is no longer observed on all parts of the reservation.

(b) Cousin group: Cross cousins only are included here. A man may joke with his male or female cousins. He is most likely to joke obscenely with his male cousin. He teases about the women in his cousin's father's clan. Cousins are very companionable; there are few restrictions on their activities. But they do not marry legitimately.[1]

2. One generation removed:

(a) Parents and children. Children respect parents. Father pays much attention to his own children, pets them and makes them presents. Children may inherit a little of father's property through courtesy gift but bulk from mother or her relatives.

(b) Maternal uncle and nephew: Very companionable. Maternal uncle is second father with educational duties. Nephew expects to be heir of uncle and uncle expects to make his sister's sons his heirs. They may tease but "not bad."

(c) Maternal uncle and niece: Uncle may exercise dictatorial prerogatives. He may decide whom the girl is to marry and may require her to divorce her husband, even against her own desire, if he does not approve of the husband's behavior. Niece may expect some property from her uncle but perhaps not as much as her brother. Niece "respects" maternal uncle in about the same way as her father but expects more of him in an economic way. May tease same as maternal uncle and nephew do.

(d) Father's siblings: I may tease my father's siblings but "not bad," just as I may my mother's brother. I treat all my father's relatives with respect and am hospitable to them.

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[1] See p. 60.

3. More than one generation removed.

(a) Mother's relatives: Relationship between maternal grandmother and grandson, as well as between maternal grandfather and grandchildren respectful and companionable. They may joke but "not bad."

(b) Paternal relatives: Respectful behavior, no joking.

4. Members of father's clan or clan-group: Pronounced cordiality. Even though individuals are absolute strangers they exchange presents if possible, more than customary hospitality is the rule.

5. Relatives by affinity:

(a) Mother-in-law and son-in-law: absolute avoidance, should not even see each other.

(b) Father-in-law and daughter-in-law: no unusual behavior.

(c) Father-in-law and son-in-law: May joke "bad." These two are usually very companionable, the younger man looks to his father-in-law for counsel. My best interpreters worked most amicably and efficiently with their fathers-in-law as informants. I mean by this that the understanding between the two was so complete that they gave more information in a given time than non-relatives or strangers. There was never any lack of harmony between interpreter and informant.

(d) Sister-in-law and brother-in-law: Should use polite ("respectful") form of verbs in address.

(e) Man and husband of his sister's daughter: These two should use the dual form of verbs in address.

VIII. PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

Ownership of personal property is purely individual among the Navajo. There is no sex discrimination. Property consists of: livestock, goods, and intangible property. By "hard goods *(ntıs)*" is meant cash, silver ornaments, precious stones, horse trappings and the like. "Soft goods *(yŭdi)*" consists of calico and materials, blankets, rugs, sheepskins, clothing, etc. Each individual has his own stock. In the Crown Point district where the land is favorable for cattle-raising the Indians count their wealth in cattle and horses. In most other places sheep and goats do better, but everyone has horses. All but a very few are allowed to range, and frequently, especially in dry years, are sorry-looking specimens. But where there is irrigation, as for example, at Shiprock, each man keeps from one to four horses near his hogan and feeds them on alfalfa.

Each woman or child who may be seen with a flock has charge of the sheep of a number of people. She has her own and those of her sisters, brothers or husband, or perhaps her mother's and father's. Or she may be caring for the animals belonging to her maternal uncle or to some of her cousins. There is no absolute rule as to whose flocks shall be tended by any individual. The matter depends upon convenience and circumstances. There is also no strict clan definition as to care. A woman may include the sheep of her father or his brother with hers. But the individual animals are always known and no mistake is made in ownership. Family-groups always keep their flocks separate even though the flocks of several are pastured in a given area.

Suppose a rich boy, Chiki, goes to school when he is very young. This circumstance will by no means deprive him of his income. His kinsmen — brother, cousin, maternal uncle or whoever can do so — will care for his cattle, sheep and horses. Even though he be away as long as ten years he may return to find his flocks and herds greatly increased and improved. Of course the increase depends largely on seasonal conditions, but the schoolboy's luck will be as good as that of the stay-at-home. His kinfolk will treat his animals as well as their own. When he returns he will not think of paying them for their attention, nor would they expect it. There is ideal trusteeship which is rewarded only by reciprocity, if the need arises.

If any of Chiki's relatives should have bad luck, have need to give a "sing" or undertake something else expensive it would be understood that Chiki would help all he could. But the same kind of aid would be expected of any successful Navajo whether he stayed home and cared for his stock or whether his kinsmen did it for him.

"Hard goods" and "soft goods" are personal property and therefore individually acquired, possessed and disposed of.

"Intangible property" consists of chants and all that goes with them — song, dance, medicine bundles, prayersticks, etc. — formulas for increasing flocks and horses, power and knowledge. In the category of "power" we may include many things. For instance, the personal name belongs here. A man (or woman) possesses a name which must not be used too often because its power might wear out. It should not be told by him lest he exert its power on his friend (and thus make an enemy of him), his friend by knowing it might even secure some of its power. Hence a name is part of a person's wealth.

Knowledge too whether acquired by formal instruction or by experience is valuable. It is transferable and heritable. It is usually very closely related to chant wisdom or medicine-lore. A man may teach it to another and receive payment for the instruction without in any way lessening his own wisdom or power. The young man would expect to give his teacher a large gift during the long period of instruction and the Chanter would expect it. But the Chanter must not, in any contingency, specify the amount to be paid. If he did he would lose his own power, the Chant would lose its power and the man who paid would gain nothing by his effort. On the other hand, if the learner did not voluntarily pay a generous sum to his teacher he would lessen his chances of gaining power. He would be considered niggardly and people would not hire him to sing for them as often as they would a more liberal man. The total amount paid is large but indefinite since gifts are presented at intervals for many years. I should not be surprised if the entire payment for learning a major chant totaled one thousand dollars or more. A singer renders to his teacher the entire fee received for the first four performances of his chant. Besides, the instructor receives a part of the fee of every subsequent chant given by his students as long as he lives. This is a kind of royalty.

Example: *hatałi* of Shiprock (Gen. I A, 1) learned *ina·dji*. Chant for diseases contracted while travelling, from *tcitc'iji* and *tcitc'iji's* son. *hatałi* paid *tcitc'iji* as long as he lived and still pays his son. If he receives two or three sheep he pays one, if his fee is ten dollars he pays his living teacher five.

Another kind of power possessed by some Navajo is the ability to divine. This power is innate and can therefore be taught to certain individuals only if they have the intangible "something" within them. The capacity for divination is a source of income. A man is paid a small sheep or a dollar and a half to prescribe a particular chant as a cure.[1]

I shall not be able to give nearly all the classes of intangible property which exist. I cite the few I have heard of which show that the

[1] See Chap. XIII.

Navajo is rich not only in material property but also in imaginative and supernatural wealth. Some very unusual individuals possess the "sacred names" of property. There are sacred names for sheep, horses, and hard goods. the knowledge of which will cause the particular animal or commodity to increase for the owner of the name. These sacred names are not the same in different families. For, it is believed that the names were given by Changing Woman. (The Navajo did not have horses and sheep at the time the goddess was giving gifts; an inconsistency which bothers them not at all). In mythical times when Changing Woman, Rain, Mirage People and others met, Changing Woman asked for suggestions for lucky names. Each proposed a name. The "real" one was chosen from those submitted, but no one remembers what it is. That is why the sacred names differ in the families which live in the same locality, and why they sometimes correspond in families which live far apart.

Ceremonial paraphernalia cannot be easily classified. A ceremonial basket, for example, may belong to a family until a ceremony has been performed. Then it becomes the property of the man who conducted the ceremony. He may give it away or sell it. But if the family has been obliged to borrow the basket, they pay the Singer two or three dollars and return it to its owner.

The foregoing description refers to personal property and under this title we may properly place everything which is owned by the Navajo. The materials and powers owned may be disposed of as well as used by the individual possessing them. When we consider real estate it cannot be placed in the same category. Land is "owned" only in the sense that it is "used." Pasture land and water supply really go together in the minds of the Navajo. Anyone may pasture his stock where he will and he may use the available water. But no one would deliberately drive his sheep on to land which is being grazed to its full capacity by another. If a newcomer came to a certain territory the matter of grass and water would be talked over with those already there and an agreement made. However if the first family moved to another locality there would be no question that anyone who so desired might use the land and water they had left. There are no definite limits as to where stock may be kept and absolutely no restrictions on use of springs or streams.

The Navajo, were he inclined to adopt the superior attitude of some of his Nordic friends, might well be scornful of the lack of comprehension exhibited by them in regard to this matter. To the whites who map out rights, privileges and ownership so thoroughly it is incredible that people can live like this. They set up no boundaries, each goes where he will, each uses all the water he needs. If the supply becomes exhausted he moves to another place where it is better. And all this without dissension or bad feeling. Once in a very long time a Navajo might be found who is stingy with land or water. Public opinion is sufficient to demand more altruistic behavior.

Public opinion would put him down as a miser, he would he despised and life for him would be very unpleasant. Stephen says that grazing land is family property.[1] I have not been able to corroborate his statement.

Land for purposes of cultivation is also needed. The garden is close to the summer abode of the family and it, like pasture-land, is owned only when used. A family usually has a winter hogan and one or more summer homes where pasturage is good. They move about within the environs of these places and in this respect only are they nomadic. Gardens are planted each year and cared for. But should a place be deserted for several years anyone may use the house and garden and establish his family there. He would know, of course, whether or not the original family had left temporarily or permanently.

There are conflicting opinions as to the ownership of gardens:

"The farm is, as a rule, the property of the husband who disposes of it before death," according to the Franciscans.[2]

Stephen claims that the woman owns the house[3] and all domestic gear. The man must plant the garden for the woman even though he may have his own garden elsewhere.

Chee Dodge (Crystal) says the farm belongs to the one who starts it and descends in his or her clan.

George Bancroft (Tuba City) says a woman owns the farm and her relatives inherit in the following order: mother, sisters or brothers.

I could get no response except astonishment about the ownership of house and farm adjoining. A man has a hut built when it is necessary but *he* does not *own* it. Neither does his wife nor his children nor any of his relatives. Everyone owns it who uses it. The idea that a house could be individual property amazed Navajo who had had very little contact with whites. But if a woman, the head of a household, should die her daughter who lives at home would automatically become the head of the house. If there were no daughter a son might bring his wife home or the hogan would be abandoned. The matter depends entirely on the number, relationship and residence of the survivors and on other circumstances.

I quote the following remark on garden produce, "The man cares for the corn, but the women and children may help him and when the corn is ripe it belongs to everyone."

An excellent illustration of the ownership of real estate is furnished by Tuli of Shiprock. Much land is being irrigated in the Shiprock area because of the elaborate system supplied by the San Juan River. Tuli is a very enterprising young man who has been educated at the Government schools. He is ambitious and energetic. He took up an irrigated claim which had already been fenced. It consisted of twenty acres. The improvement which was noticeable

[1] AA 6 (1893): 349 [2] FF 265. [3] AA 6 (1893): 354.

from the summer of 1924 when he first began to work it until the summer of 1925 when I visited him again was astounding. But Tuli is not sure — basing his opinion on old Navajo custom — that he will retain the twenty acres. For, a woman owned the ten acres which he took up but had fenced twenty and she moved to Crown Point. If no white man interferes Tuli can be reasonably sure that he can keep the twenty acres, for it is very unlikely that the original owner would even attempt to establish a claim. However, if she did, Tuli would yield the ten acres if she came to live there and continued to keep them up. On the other hand if she, influenced by whites, should claim the land with Crown Point as a point of vantage, Tuli who is very good-natured, might yield, but I am sure could not fail to harbor resentment.

The illustration brings up one of the most difficult questions in the assimilation of two civilizations. Our property ideas are so utterly different from those of the Navajo that there seems to be hardly any principle intelligible to the natives which an official might follow no matter how fair-minded he might be. In all probability Tuli's problem if left alone will solve itself. But on other parts of the reservation complex situations arise again and again. For instance, at Crown Point land has been homesteaded. At the same place and elsewhere allotments have been made. These two methods of assigning land have been used by the U. S. Government with the aim of benefiting the Navajo. But they have of necessity been worked out according to our own views of economy. The requirements of homesteading are difficult for the Navajo to understand, but in most cases they can be lived up to. It is when questions of inheritance come up that the white man is nonplussed in dealing with the Navajo. The viewpoint is simple enough but difficult to comprehend by one born and raised in our tradition. Land is used not owned, therefore it cannot be disposed of. If a man dies, his survivors may continue to use the land as he has been doing; if there are no survivors or if they do not care to stay, the land is there and anyone else may use it.

But with land ownership which enters into homestead rules and allotments, the matter changes in all its aspects. The Navajo are being taught to "own" real estate. Let us go on the hypothesis that he may learn the lesson of real estate ownership within the next few years. Will the problems of the Government be settled as simply as that? By no means, for though property ideas be reconstructed the hydra of Navajo inheritance raises its seven heads.

A man owns much personal property; he learns to realize also that he owns land and water rights and can dispose of them. He dies. Who inherits his property? How is a re-allotment to be fairly made? We all know how the matter would be settled by us. We have a patrilineal type of social organization and although it has broken down considerably in favor of the bilateral type, nevertheless our laws of inheritance are based on it. The Navajo, on the other hand,

have a strictly matrilineal organization. The only tendency toward two-sided inheritance is the very weak one of courtesy gifts. All the laws are based on inheritance in the maternal line.

For this reason a man's children inherit very little, almost none, of his property. If he has made an oral will the family will do all in its power to carry it out. If not, his brothers and his mother's brother will determine how the property shall be disposed of. The most important thing is to keep it all, or nearly all, in the clan. The little which the children inherit is calculated on the basis of age, not of sex: older children get a little, younger children none. The widow also gets almost nothing.

William Antone's father (Crown Point) was very rich. He had married five or six times and had many children. His married children got most of his property before he died, but William and his younger sisters got theirs after their father's death.

This case is not strictly according to Navajo custom since the property went out of the clan. Many variations occur to meet unusual conditions just as among ourselves.

Gen. I D, 673 was very rich and when he died his property descended to his brother and his brother-in-law who of course was not of his clan.

Under ordinary circumstances a man's sister and brother, or his mother, if she is living, will inherit the bulk of his property. If they are not living his sisters' children or their daughters' children are the next in succession.

A married woman's property goes to her children if they are married or mature, if they are small, her brother takes precedence. His sisters' children are, however, his legal heirs.

An unmarried woman's possessions go to her sisters and brothers.

A wealthy unmarried girl of *hacl'ɪjni* (12) died. Her mother and sisters kept all her property which was not destroyed at her grave.

Just as in our own society many diverse conditions may exist which cause modifications of existing laws and customs, so among the Navajo adjustments must he made. I can do no better than give concrete examples to show how matters work out:

(1) If a man dies and no brothers or sisters survive his property goes to his clan relatives. But it would be "respectful" to give a little to his children if he had any.

(2) The following description is by Albert Sandoval of Lukachukai:

A man called *hacyą'atso'* (Much Yucca) who lived east of Tuba City died in May 1924. He had two thousand dollars in cash as well as from two to three thousand head of stock, cattle, sheep and horses. Two wives had died each leaving a son. The sons were middle-aged at the time of their father's death. A third wife of clan *toxɛdlini* (24) also survived. His sisters' daughters had nine living children who were of course of the same clan as Much Yucca.

Besides his tangible property Much Yucca had a quantity of intangible goods for he was the repository of medicine lore, of sacred

names for horses and sheep, of legends, songs and power. His knowledge was more important to him than his material effects. Many Navajo, as they grow older, look around for someone who will learn their secrets and Much Yucca did likewise. One of his sister's daughter's sons whom I shall, for convenience, designate by the kin-term, *bitsui'*, had proved himself worthy to be an heir. He had shown an interest and concern in what pleased the old man and had patiently learned his lessons. Much Yucca had reared *bitsui'* who was about thirty-five when his grandfather died. Much Yucca *bitsui'* had eight cousins. The winter before he died Much Yucca had tried to teach songs to the youngest of the eight. Not long after he began to learn he stole one hundred dollars from Much Yucca. No person with standards so low could be a successful medicine-man and the grandfather gave up all attempts to teach any of the eight.

Three or four years before he died Much Yucca had left two thousand dollars in cash with the trader at Keam's Cañon. The trader guaranteed to keep it safe. When he asked the old man who should have it if he should die he said "*citsui'* (my sister's daughter's son)."

Not long before he died Much Yucca had *bitsui'* rehearse all he had taught him. He told him too that he should inherit all his property. But they had no witnesses.

After the old man died there was much talk about the settlement of the estate. The attention of the young wife was called to the fact that, according to white law, she could claim one-third of the estate. If left to herself she would probably not have disputed the division of the property. So the family compromised and gave her one hundred dollars and some horses, much more than is customary for the Navajo to give a widow. They did it because they were very anxious to carry out the old man's wishes. Litigation would have resulted in breaking his oral will in favor of the widow.

(3) A hypothetical case given by George Bancroft of Tuba City:

His own property should descend to his mother, sisters and brothers if he died. But since none of these relatives are living, his sister's daughters and sons, the only blood survivors, would inherit it all. The sister's daughters would get the most.

When George married his wife they were equally poor. But both have worked and struggled, both are comfortable, and George is a little richer than his wife.

George gave what I consider the most important information about inheritance — important in that it gives the best insight into the wide variations which are found as one collects details of inheritance from one family to another: (Only the relatives who come to talk over the matter of inheritance of a deceased person's property share in the estate. They appoint a headman who decides how much each is to have after they have all agreed. That is why no definite amount or percentage can be given, but all is left to the judgment of the members of the family council who are present.)

IX. NAMES AND NAMING

The discussion of names and naming given by the Franciscan Fathers[1] is very valuable. But since the matter is of special importance in a consideration of social problems I shall repeat the main points for the use of the many who have no access to the Franciscans' work. Insofar as possible I shall give examples which differ from theirs.

In the introduction to this paper the matter of multiple names for an individual was discussed. As a matter of fact the name as a means of identification is not important among the Navajo; usually I think it might be said to be non-existent. People are identified most frequently and accurately by their relationships. I wish, for instance, to speak of a certain individual whose name is Gray Horse *(bilįłbai')*. But if I should say *bilįłbai'* I should by no means be certain that my informant was thinking of the same individual I was. There might be half a dozen Gray Horses in the community or the particular person might be more commonly known as Mr. Moustache *(hastin bada'γai')*. Different persons in speaking of him may give him characteristic nicknames so that it would be very difficult to be sure of identification without circumlocution. But the Navajo have no objections to circumlocutions, in fact they favor them.

So if I ask Gen. I A, 1 about Gray Horse's wife I shall say something like this: your mother's father's brother's — the one who married the *tabąxą* woman, — son's *hoγalani* wife. From which exact description Gen. I A, 1 will instantly know I am speaking of Gen. I A, 99. For accuracy the best point of departure is most often the clan. From it all kinds of reckonings can be made. However if there are many women in the same fraternity their relative ages must be noted. There are other devices also which may be relied upon. It is because of the necessity of an approach based upon such knowledge that the enumerations which have been made by those unfamiliar with Navajo customs are inaccurate, in many cases worthless.

The Navajo name, while not important for purposes of identification, has very great significance in other respects. I speak now especially of the "war" or "holy" names, those belonging to the first class listed below. The name is a part of one's personal power. "It is not told in a person's presence. It should only be used in a tight pinch. When a person is in danger he may get out of it by having someone pronounce his name. Using the name wears it out."[2]

Another circumstance which brings out the same idea is that the name is used in the *anądji*[3] ceremony to "kill the ghost" of an

[1] FF 118ff.
[2] Chee Dodge.
[3] See Chap. XI.

enemy which may be one of the "Ancient People," the inhabitants of the ruins which abound in the Navajo country. The name of *Nayɛnɛzɣani* (Slayer of the Alien Gods) repeated in the songs and the names of each of the *bandai'*, the ones for whom the ceremony is being given, are announced as the Singer points with the bone of the Ancient People, or with the enemy's scalp in the various directions with accompanying songs. The names of the ruins are also named four times to "drive off the spirit."

Beliefs like these account for the hesitancy which the Navajo show if one asks outright for their war-names. Frequently they refuse to tell them and if someone else volunteers the individual concerned may giggle, perhaps from embarrassment. The feeling is not so strong with respect to nicknames or other types. But it carries over when the name describes certain bodily infirmities. Gen. I A, 1, one of my best informants, is crippled with paralysis. He is called *hatałi* (Chanter). But since any singer may be called that I mentally differentiate him as "Cripple." I should however never call him *naxaldjin* either to his face or to someone else for it would be very bad luck; "it is not a good name." In the same way I should personally designate Gen. I G, 901 as "Blind Medicine Man" but I should call him "*hastin bądąyai'*, the old *tatcini'* who lives opposite the Shiprock store," in speaking of him to a Navajo.

Often war names are used time and again in the same family. But only those are used which belong to individuals who have attained old age. Names of those who die young are not repeated. There is a kind of sex distinction in the war names although it is not absolute. Usually women have names ending in the stem *-ba* (war) and men have *hackɛ-* (warrior) names. I give some not given by the Franciscans with the translations which were given me. They are not all etymologically correct, but I am not sure that they are thought of with their literal[1] meanings:

Women's names:

hazba·', Warband comes over the Hill
ba· sani, Old Woman Warband
dahiba, Warbands meet
ałtsaxaba, Warbands separating go over
ala'ba·', Warband went farther
bɨdanɪzba', Mother was at War when carrying her
yitc'ɪ'na·zba', Old Man brave in War (more correctly: Toward him Warband came. A good illustration of folk etymology)
ta'dzolzba', All run from the Enemy
hidji'nba', They retreat before fighting

[1] I have mentioned that Dr. Goddard checked up some linguistic points for me. I do not wish to throw upon him any responsibility for the translation of these names.

xı'djixabą', ?
iba', She went to War
tc'a'nba', Warband comes from behind
dabınaihisna', Mother was at War with the Hopi
ahınłba', Warband catches up
bo'osdɛzba', Warband left behind
inazba', Warband went around
yodɛzba', Warband going to War
dą'aba', Warband met party
hıkı'niba·, Going after Warband
axıdiba·, Warbands came together
yadi'ba·, Warband escaped
da'iba·, Warband never returned
djiba· Warband went
ɛstsą nat'ą', Woman Chief
yanaba·', Warband arrived
daxɛzba·', Warband started out
nanazba, ?
nastɛsbą, Warband goes forward
ozba' (from *onazba'*) Lesser Warband
kɛ'naba', ?
yaniba', ?
yılįba, Warband pours (?)
nanɑ'ba·, Warband comes around
inŭba·, Warbands come together
ita'niba·, She went among Warband
nadli'n nazba·, *nadlį* goes to War
t'aha'ba·, She went among Warbands
axina'ba·', Two Warbands go around
yılnaba·', Warband goes with Captive
gızba·', Squeaking Warrior
djɛ'nazba·, Heart went to War (?)
yanɑ' 'ba·', Warband arrived
nadlį akidiną, Two Warbands come together
djınıba', Warband went
kixįbai', They carry War into the Village
alnaba·', Warbands made across
dądɛzba·', Warbands start back
k'ɛxanaba·', ?
yikazba·', ?
nadlį liba·, ?
daxaba·', ?
dadiba·', ?
tc'itoba·', Warband from Red Lake
bılna'jnaba·', Warband takes Captive home
k'įdzǫzba·', Warband ?
djındɛzba·', Warband starts

ts'a'naba·ʿ, Warband bounced back
bɬzǫzba·, Sleepy Warband
daxɛzba·, ?
xonăba·ʿ, Warband came and left
xahazba·ʿ, Warband ascends
na·'ba·ʿ, Warband came back
yihi'ba·ʿ, Warband went in
aɬkeiba·ʿ, Warbands went in Succession
danazbaʿ, Warbands meet
axinazba·, Two Warbands clash
yi'nazba·ʿ, Warbands amongst them
dja'aba·ʿ, ?
dodɛzba, Warband did not go
naɬ'icdɛzba·ʿ, ?
tc'ąiba·ʿ, Warband went before
yiɬnazba·ʿ, Went with Warband
bịdacanba·ʿ, ?
k'ɛxazba·ʿ, Warband went for Friendship
aɬk'ɛxazba·ʿ, Warband goes on same Trail as the other
k'ɪniba·ʿ, Warband finds
aɬk'ɪniba·ʿ, ?
bak'a'zazba·ʿ, ?
nɛnaba·ʿ, Warband arrived back
kɛɬxaba·ʿ, Warband tracks
nadlį anaba·ʿ, *nadlį* went back to War
nadlį nanba·ʿ, *nadlį* came back from War
nadlį xana'ba·ʿ, *nadlį* went to War again
k'ɛlnazba·ʿ, Warband came for Peace
nadlį dɛzba·ʿ, *nadlį* ?
ba·naba·ʿ, Warband arrived
k'ɪdɛzba·ʿ, Warband came for Peace
atsɪnazba, Warband went first

Mens' names:

hacke'ldaiyaga', Warrior retreats before fighting
hacke·'niya, Warrior catches up
hackedjɪniya', Scold and come to me (Warrior came out)
hackɛda'naga, ?
hackedjɪnilyot, Warrior stands before him
hacke' idiya', Warrior he went with
hackɛyinɛlɪywaɬ, Warrior is returning
hackɛ'naxolɛ', He acts as Warrior
hackɛtsązɛlǫ, Warrior lassooed Rib
hackɛ'dɛ'zɪni, Standing Warrior
hackɛyɛɬywa·, He runs and catches a Warrior
hackɛ'ɛnaba·, Warrior going on Warpath
hacki'do'dɪtsai, Mute Warrior

hackɛ'nadal, Warrior comes home
hackɛałɑyaidıt'a, They dispute over Authority
hackɛndi'ba·', Warrior goes to War
hackɛyitc'ixolɛł, Enemy approaches Warrior
hackɛ'snıł, ?
hackeyılnadaci', He brings Warrior back with him
hackɛinaso'ot, Warrior runs around in Circles
hackɛł hackai', ?
hackɛyoznă, Warrior forgot something
hackɛyibato'swot, Warrior escapes Enemy, or Warrior keeps on killing Enemies here and there
hackɛ'itaswodɛ', He ran through Warriors
hacke'cnil, Keep Warriors
hackɛxade·lıs, Warrior grabbed
hackeyılıdıł, Warrior throws (stick) forward
hackeyikidilez, Warrior steps on it
hackɛ'xayitsi', Warrior ?
hackɛidziz, Warrior took Chief captive
hackɛyaniya, Warriors came to him
bɛlıɣanısxın, American he killed
ya'na'isxın, Yana he killed
dınɛyısxın, Navajo he killed
ozeisxın, Hopi he killed
nodai'yılilɑywal, He runs away with a Ute Scalp
nalwu'di, He runs back
nɛlyot, He ran back
yinalwoł, He goes round and round Warriors
yihilywot, He went among them
yahilyol, He runs beside
ayolı·ł, He makes a Warrior
nayołdɛł, He pushes him aside
nat'aholɛł, He will be Chief
nat'ailsazi, He stands to make a Speech. Standing Chief
nat'asıt'ai, Sitting Chief
nadɛlniya', Chief comes with him
nat'a ɬbai', Gray Chief
nat'atsosi, Slim Chief

There is little differentiation between male and female names which are not war names except as they point out personal characteristics peculiar to the sex, or as they contain sex-specifying kinship terms. Teknonymy is prevalent among the Navajo. For example, a woman becomes *iba' bama*, mother of She-went-to-War, and a man becomes *iba' bıjɛ'*, father of She-went-to-War, as soon as the first child is born. The child may be called "Mary's daughter" or 'Sydney's son." One informant says regarding this custom, "The Navajo are ashamed to say 'Sydney's son' after the child is about fifteen

years old. Then they use his Navajo name until he becomes 'father of so-and-so'." The large number of times that grown children are named from their parents in the genealogies does not bear out this statement.

The strongest tendency is for very many persons to cling to a name which has attained prestige in the community by affixing relationship terms. For instance, Gen. I B, 183 was called *hastin dil*. His wife is "wife of *hastin dil*;" his son, "son of *hastin dil*;" his daughter, "daughter of *hastin dil*;" and we might come upon "nephew of *hastin dil*;" "paternal grandchild of *hastin dil*;" or "*hastin dil bitsui*" for his great-great-grandchild related to him through the child's mother.[1] The wish to perpetuate fame, even though vicariously, is not restricted to blood relatives but is used also by "-in-laws;" "son-in-law of *hastin dil*" or even "father-in-law of *hastin dil*."

I shall cite some of the nicknames which are so very prevalent, sufficient to give an idea of the types which are used. Those having reference to personal characteristics or peculiarities are by far the most numerous.

It is well to explain here the significance of the term "*hastin*." The Franciscans define it as "Mr." but I feel that the Navajo term is a little more deferential than ours in that it denotes age or accomplishment or both. It would not be applied to a young man and often not to a middle-aged or old man who did not command some degree of respect. The term "*hastin*" literally means "man" as "*ɛstsą*" means "woman."

The appellations given are not always especially appropriate, for *dinɛyajɛ*, Small Navajo, may be a man of medium stature; "*hastin nɛz*," Tall Navajo, may not be especially tall, and "*ɛstsą tsosi*, Slender Woman" may be of medium height or short and dumpy.

Some of the most common names of this category:

dinɛ nɛz, Tall Navajo; *hastin nɛz*, Mr. Tall; *ɛstsą nɛz*, Tall Woman

dinɛyajɛ, Small Navajo; *hastin yajɛ*, Mr. Small

dinɛ tso, Big Navajo; *ɛstsą tso*, Big Woman.

tsala·nɛz or *silanɛz*, Tall Policeman; *sɛlau'*, Policeman; *tsala'wa tsosi*, Slim Policeman. The forms *tsɛla·*, *sila*, *sɛlau'*, etc., are contaminations of Spanish *soldado*, soldier.

ɛstsą łtsui', Yellow Woman; *ɛstsą nłtci'*, Red Woman; *ɛstsą łbai*, Gray Woman

ɛstsą tco'i, Ugly Woman

łaiyajɛ, Little Left Hand

hasti'n bada'γai, Mr. Moustache; *dayałtci'*, Red Moustache; *bada'γałtsui'*, Yellow Moustache

hastin jin, Mr. Black; *ɛstsą jin*, Black Woman

nadlɛ', Berdache; *nadlɛ' tco'i*, Ugly Berdache

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[1] See Chap. VII.

I might go on indefinitely with examples of this sort but I shall now give a few of the more unusual nicknames from personal peculiarities:

tayęyo'di', He has Bangs
hastin bitsantsoki, tcantelin, Mr. Big Belly
binałbai, Gray Eyes
hastin tsiyɛ, Mr. Lazy
ɛstsą ke·, Woman with Clubfoot
hastin dalin, Old man he acts like
ɛ̈stsą doxa'ałai, Quiet Woman
tsana·'yai, Drunkard
hastin sati'ni, Mr. Lying down
hastin bitsi łayai, Mr. White Hair
tc'ada'niyɛhi, Owl's Feather on Head
ɛstsą doxotci', Barren Woman
doxa'ałtai' tsosi, Slim Silent Man
ɛstsą łǫ, Laughing Woman
t'a'alya,, Ready Made
ɛstsą dɛdjol, Round Woman
hask'ı łtsui', Yellow Boy
hadɛstca'li, Big Talker; *hadɛltc'at'ni*, Noisy Man
daya'its'i, He pulls Moustache
dayaxoci', Cactus Moustache
bidaya nazka·di, One Whisker at a Time
dico', Fuzzy
nak'aidinɛ binidałoi, Woolly-faced Mexican
tcitc'ijɛ, Coarse Hair
tsi tcoci, Scarce Hair
tsikǫ, Short Hair
tsigodɛ', Bobbed Hair
bita'inɛ, Long Forelock
tsiyɛłani, Many Queues
iyo'nilnɛzi, Very tall
hastin ts'ini, Mr. Bony
dɛ·sizi, Tiptoe
hastin bit'ini'ini, Mr. Taller than a Man
biya'djiya, Man who is walked under
bili', Sleepiness (Woman's name); *hastin alkocin*, Mr.Sleep
łaltsozin, Slim Yellow Lefty
hastin boyoadin, Mr. No Teeth; *bowocgiji*, Tooth lost
bɛc bawol, Metal (?) Teeth; *bɛcbayoi*, Gold Teeth
ɛstsą da'tsahai', Constantly ill
na'acǫci, Gambler
ma'į dja'a talin, Scum of Coyote Ears
k'ic dilidin, Ring burned
hadoltci'din, Exhausted
hastin ta, Mr. Clump

γa·godi, One-armed Man
γagekali, Arm shot off
bidja tsın, Wooden Leg
bınił'a nask'ij, Thick Mush Face
hastin na·'ltsidi, Mr. Coward (Shy)
hastin bıtsantsoki, Mr. Big Belly; *tcantelın*, Big Belly
hastin hajo'go, Mr. Slow (Gentle)
k'adi, Quite enough
hastin atsǫ'si, Mr. Sucking
nayitsįz, He pulls them (what?) off
bıla'cajain, Crooked Finger
bıza·'di, Stutterer
ɛstsą dıdıłɛ', Woman gambles with Sticks
nak'ai gızi, Crooked Mexican
ɛstsą siyını, Flabby Woman
ɛstsą ack'ajɛ, Kidney Woman
nadlınɛ, Look around
na'idıłkidɛ, One who questions
yaldɛzi', Looking downward
ąntci', Stingy
tc'antilɛ, Broad Head
ɛstsą tc'ał'ici, Mucuous Woman
djobai, Generous
ɛstsą biji'dın, Hoarse Woman
dadzılgɛ'xɛ, He was abused
djıltɛxɛ, He brings one (Prairie-dog)
da·lijın, Black Spot
djılįhi, Taster
ɛstsą da'at'ą, Cornhusk (cigarette papers) Woman
nak'aiyoznă', Mexican who forgot
bınadını', Hurt Eyes
bıt'ăni hałıljoli, *bıtani* talks often
todadɛsłın, Dam up water
hał'axatsihi', describes the way his hips moved when he walked
hastin na'na, Mr. Crawls like a Snake
naxatc'ai', Hobbler
isk'izi, Squeak
njoni, Pretty
ɛstsą dohalya'n, Foolish Woman
na'ltsosnɛz, Tall People

Besides pointing out physical or temperamental peculiarities, names may also stress the possessions of an individual:

bılį bıtsiγałayai, His Horse has a white Mane
bılį dalkıji, or *bılį slını*, Spotted Horse
bılį daltsui', Yellow Horse

bilį łabai', Gray Horse
dana'γiziyajɛ, Bag-case
bɛ'γaciłani, Many Cattle
bɛtsą nɛzi, Mule
bidjałǫ·lniteli, Big Earring
tc'acijahini, Bent (Curled) Hat
cıγełani, (my) Many Sons
nabali', Shawl
niyoldaik'ɛni, Wind Garden
k'ɛhi, Shoes
bɛ'ɛ·isłɛni, Spotted Shirt

Another class of nicknames refers to occupations, abilities, achievements or happenings:

ałoi', Weaver (name of a berdache)
hatali', Singer; *ɛstsą hatali'*, Woman Chanter; *hatali yoi'*, Singer of the Bead Chant
atsıdi', Smith; *atsıdi nɛz*; Tall Smith
Ł'eł, Makes Fire with a Drill (woman's name)
hastin ak'ai, Mr. Grind
bɛldǫ bıtsinilin, Gun-handle Maker
nałaitci', Butcher (was butcher at Ft. Summer)
hısłeł'oi', Sack Weaver
isł'ɛiloi, Stocking Weaver
hastin adjihi'n, Mr. Bowl-mender (He gums Bowls)
bahılıni, Bread-maker
hastin ał, Man who boils
kınłıni, House-builder

Individuals may be named from a characteristic of the locality in which they live:

hastin tcɛ'badjał'al, Mr. Man with Ears (named from a rock which looks as if ears project from under a hat)
hastin bi'stɛ hazką, Mr. Adobe with a Hat
gabıjin, Cactus
hastin tsɛ'ta, Mr. Cañon
djılxadjınɛ, one of the names of Manuelito, the name of the place where he lived, thirty miles east of Ft. Defiance.
kadi'ai, Cedar
hastin tsıni, Mr. Timber
tizązbą, Cottonwoods in a Circle
luk'aitc'uγani bıγɛ', deceased Lukachukai Man's son
ɛstsą keyaxai', Woman of Old Country (Woman reputed to be the last one from Shiprock region to come to Ft. Sumner)
hastin łıjınha'lin, Mr. Black Spring
hastin totco'oni, Mr. Bad Water

hastin tsɛtcilyato, Mr. Oak under Spring
to nak'ai, Mexican Water
bit'ahiti, It lies over a Hole
naɬdɛzna, Group moved to other Side (Born at Zuñi and moved to Chinlee)

Clan identifications are numerous. They are most usual with a kin-term added; a few examples will suffice:

tsɪnsak'adɪnɛ bɪyɛ', Lone Tree's son
destci'ini bɛ'ɛstsą, Red Streak's wife
ɛstsą destci'ini, Red Streak Woman
ł'astciyajɛ bɪtsi', Daughter of Little Red Flat
hastin bɪtɪzdaltci', Mr. Red Goats
acįhį ɬbai', Gray Salt (clan)

Names are taken also from the chant a person knows:

na'atoi hatali, Singer of Shooting Chant
yoi' hatali, Singer of Bead Chant
xǫjoni hatali, Singer of Song of Beauty

I do not think it necessary to give examples of Spanish and English names which are given to children upon entering school and which they often take home. Sometimes they are allowed to retain their own names and are taught to write them, for example Tuloy Tso. But more frequently they get their names arbitrarily. For instance, Sydney Philips goes by the name Sydney but is much better known as "Sandoval *bada'ani*, Sandoval's son-in-law." His wife, Mary, should perhaps be known as "Mary Philips" but is not recognized thus. She is "Sydney *bɛ'ɛstsą*, Sydney's wife," but much better "Sandoval *bɪtsi'*, Sandoval's daughter." The first name would almost never be understood, the second would sometimes, the third would *always* identify Mary.

Sometimes, as in the last example, Spanish or English names are used with Navajo terms; Robert Atsidi, Mary Louise Tso, Ben *yajɛ* (Little Ben), etc.

NAMING

A "good" name or a nickname is given a child when it is born. The name is used until the person becomes a parent when he becomes so-and-so's father or mother.[1]

"A baby is named when it is two or three months old. It would be bad luck to name it as soon as it is born. Its maternal or paternal grandparents, or any old man says, 'Your name is — —', and slaps or pats the baby."[2]

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[1] Allen.
[2] Mary Sandoval.

"A boy is named by his father, a girl by her maternal grandmother, or her mother's mother's brother. A girl may be named by her father but it is not customary."[1]

"The name is kept secret until the *anądji* medicine is given when it is announced."[2]

The names are kept by the women of the family. Allen did not know the sacred names of his children for he said, "The women watch them up."

These are the customs at the present time. But in the old days when the *natc'it*[3] was still in vogue the names were given to all the children of various families by the Peace Chiefs. Since the names were war names the War chiefs should really have given them. But instead of exercising their prerogative they delegated it to the Peace Chiefs. A Peace Chief named *bit'ai bilitsui'*, Yellow Forehead, who was a brother of the father of Albert's maternal grandmother (Gen. III, 1) named all the children of Albert's mother and grandmother. Albert's grandmother says further: "All children were named during the War Dance *(anądji)* by a Peace Chief who announced the name and patted the child on the back."

Nowadays it seems likely that the relative, either maternal or paternal, who has the highest prestige or who has attained the greatest age with good luck, is the one who gives the name. Sandoval who is the most influential individual in the Shiprock region named all of his daughter's children.

I shall give next some miscellaneous notes on naming:

Gen. I B, 154, *bilɣanisxin bɪɣɛ'*, son of American-he-killed, was of clan *aciłi* (32). His old family was from Hopi but since, when a boy, he said he belonged to Jemez, he was nicknamed *maiɖɛskijni* (33 Jemez) and went by that name. This is one of a number of examples which show that a person is not necessarily a member of the clan from which he is named.

One reason given why a person does not like to tell his own name is that it may be obscene, that is a man may be named from his behavior toward women, etc. This explanation does not account for the embarrassment caused by the pronunciation of a name in the presence of its owner when it is not obscene. I have found nicknames which are pointedly critical but never any which were even vulgar. The Franciscans also do not note them.

In a battle one Ute, named *cobi'*, sat on his horse which had a red flannel saddle blanket. As he was about to spear Gen. II A, 127 the latter ran around the Ute and grabbed his blanket. Since then Gen. II A, 127 has been called *cobi'*. This name then, while not strictly

[1] Striker of Ganado.
[2] *Id.* See Chap. XI.
[3] See Chap. X.

a war name has as much prestige since it commemorates a brave and daring act. Many names must have some such significance which is not apparent.

Gen. III, 55 was named Warren at Shiprock School. The name was then taken by the children of his wife by a former husband so that they go by the names: Dan Warren, Lily Warren, and Nellie Warren. Warren himself is differentiated as Warren *bįbito' dinɛ* (Warren Deer Spring).

The Sandovals of Lukachukai were named from a Spaniard, Juan Sandoval from Torreón. A distant relative of theirs took the name and they all use it so that we find Albert, Gilbert, Bessie and Juan Sandoval.

X. TRIBAL ASSEMBLY

Before beginning a description of the institution called *natc'ıt* I wish to acknowledge my great indebtedness to Father Berard Haile who was living at Lukachukai when I obtained the genealogies there. He not only pointed out lines of approach but cooperated in the work of gathering material in every way. The *natc'ıt* is something about which the Navajo do not speak. One reason for this is that the last one was held so long ago that only the oldest inhabitants know anything about it. Their information is fragmentary and obtained second hand. The most I learned was from Albert's grandmother who was told by her grandmother. Old Wide Foot *(bıke'inɛz)* of Black Mountain who is about sixty-seven heard of it from his mother and her brother. It is impossible to procure information of this kind unless one has a lead. Even Matthews who spent many years with the Navajo and who did excellent work in recording religious customs, and himself learned a chant, was entirely ignorant of the existence of the *natc'ıt* as an institution which differs from the ordinary chants. A reference to the holding of the *natc'ıt* is made in the Legends[1] and Matthews in a note shows that he classes it with the ceremonies for he says,[2] "In paragraph 411 (which refers to *natc'ıt*) we hear of a ceremony which lasted all winter."

The reference to holding the ceremony for the benefit of Big Knee shows also that Matthews (or his informant, or both) considered it a curative rite. There is almost no doubt that cures were performed but it seems to be certain that healing was not the primary purpose of the assembly. The practice of curing is such a thoroughly integrated part of Navajo ceremony that it would be impossible to imagine one which had not some features of healing.

The lead which Matthews and others failed to get was furnished me by Father Berard. His very excellent interpreter, Albert Sandoval, was also an invaluable aid in securing facts about the Tribal Assembly. The information is fragmentary, it is unsatisfactory, it fails just when the curiosity is most keenly whetted. But because it throws a brilliant though slender ray of light on Navajo political organization, on ideas of peace and war and on the concept of "power" I consider even the scanty bits here given of considerable value.

In the old days when the Navajo were not as numerous as they are now all came together for the winter at an appointed place.

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[1] Legends 146, 147.
[2] *Ibid.* 241.

Assemblies of this kind took place about every two or four years. The periods varied in length according to the crises which arose. The assembly would be held within a shorter period than two years if famine threatened or if war were to be undertaken. The place of gathering was decided upon and the Navajo came from all directions. They built hogans (one informant says, of brush) close together. The Peace Chiefs built their homes on the north side and the War Chiefs on the south in ceremonial order. The general impression is that when the entire plan of dwellings was complete it formed something like a camp circle. But the facts are not in complete agreement. From one informant I get the notion that each hut was of brush, from another that the usual earth lodges were built and the entire village, town or assembly was surrounded by a huge brush corral. Since the meeting always took place in the winter it would seem that the more durable hogans were needed for warmth. But whether the whole arrangement had any relation to the tribal circle of the Plains is a question which must be left open.

Chee Dodge says, "They danced about four days, went home a week and came back again to dance. This alternation kept up all winter until corn planting began." This statement would lead one to suppose that the gathering place was central and that the hogans were round about at a greater or less distance.

The last *natc'it* was held about one hundred years ago and a few sticks still remain about twelve miles east of Chinlee. The Navajo were planning to have one just before the uprising which led to their imprisonment at Ft. Sumner. The informant did not know the reason for this but there may well have been a war motive.

The office or title of chief was the greatest honor which could be bestowed upon a Navajo. A woman might attain this honor on the same basis as a man. War Chiefs were named because of bravery and daring. If a woman went to war she might see an enemy killed[1] and thus might become eligible for chieftainship. There seems to be no doubt that War Chiefs were chosen on the basis of prowess in war only. There were twelve of them and the position of honor was held for life. They exerted executive power only in virtue of the respect they commanded. They had privileges such as the power of naming which they might exert or delegate to others.

"The twelve Peace Chiefs were the best and smartest talkers."[2]

There must be a very close relation between chieftainship among the Navajo and Apache for Dr. P. E. Goddard[3] learned that the main duty of the Apache chiefs was to "talk to" the people. They generally made a speech at sunrise.

The exact order of procedure during the *natc'it* is very incomplete but some of the activities are known:

[1] Has this any relation to the Plains' custom of "counting coup"?
[2] Chee Dodge.
[3] Personal information.

If the *natc'ıt* were called in order to organize a war the War Chiefs played the chief role. They placed their weapons and all that pertained to war before them and harangued the people, inciting them to deeds of daring and bravery.

If the assembly took place during a period of famine the War Chiefs were required to conceal all their paraphernalia and the Peace Chiefs had the floor. The emblems of peace, hoes and garden implements, were piled up and the chiefs gave long speeches referring to peaceful activities. They encouraged the people to plant corn, to tend the crops carefully, to conserve water and to do all in their power to increase the water supply.

There were "sings" for rain at such times although it is not clear whether there was a "rain-making" feature during every *natc'ıt* or whether it was important only in times of scarcity. It seems most probable that the chants for rain were a part of every gathering just as were the chants for curing.

Gen. II B, 201, *bıtsiłayai'*, White Hair, of Lukachukai is very old. He was married long before he went to Ft. Sumner. When he was consulted about the *natc'ıt* he said the lips of the chiefs were anointed with clay taken out of the water. But after vouchsafing this much information White Hair was so overcome, apparently with emotion, that he could not give any more. It did not appear from his behavior that he refused to talk about the matter because it was esoteric but rather because it made him so sad. All of the informants who knew anything at all about it seemed to regard it as one of the most sacred and important of Navajo institutions.

Several medicines suggest that the attempts to cure and to cause rain were based on magic as are so many of the performances in the chants.

Rain medicine: A young man was painted white. He then went to each of the springs used and from each brought back a pot of water. The water was tossed up in the air and sung over.

Another medicine whose purpose is not specified: Thirty-two acorn shells filled with a liquid (water or concoction?) were placed in a row and a humming-bird was made to sip from each.

Wide Foot of Black Mountain remembers a song used at the assembly.

All the preceding facts were ascertained from informants who in other matters proved themselves thoroughly reliable. The information of one, except for specific details which may have been known by only one, checks up very well with that given by another.

nacyali' (Mescalero) of Chinlee whose information on other subjects could not be taken without qualifications, corroborated the description of the *natc'ıt* in general but acknowledged that he did not know the details of the winter gathering and had never heard of the War and Peace Chiefs. Although he reckoned his age at about one hundred and seven, perhaps seventy-seven or eighty-seven would

be more nearly correct according to the data collected from his contemporaries at Ft. Sumner. He would not have been old enough to remember a *natc'it*. Furthermore his genealogy (if we may accept it as he gave it)[1] shows that he led a wandering life and spent many years away from the Navajo country.

The available notes on the *natc'it* or tribal assembly suggest in brief the following: (1) that there may have been a tribal circle; (2) that counting coup or a related custom may have been in vogue; (3) that the political organization was vested in twelve war and twelve peace chiefs who formed a council; (4) that the appointment of the war chiefs was a special honor bestowed for prowess in warfare; (5) that the peace chiefs were selected on the basis of eloquence and perhaps of good judgment and uprightness; (6) that women could be chiefs as well as men; and (7) that rain-making and curing were important parts of the ceremonial carried on during the period of the *natc'it*.

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[1] The old man showed such a tendency to exaggerate that I have not used any of the information he gave.

XI. WAR DANCE

The *anądji* or War Dance is one of the ceremonies most commonly seen by whites. It is a ceremony which takes place in the summer and fall and is expensive and important. Its purpose is to free one from the power of his enemies; its concern with war no doubt differentiates it from the chants. Its characteristics too will be seen to differ somewhat from those of the chants, although the ceremonial procedure is in accordance with the Navajo pattern.

The most detailed account of the *anądji* was written by the Franciscan Fathers.[1] Mr. S. J. Guernsey also has a brief record[2] of parts of the dance which corroborates and supplements that of the Franciscans. Dr. E. C. Parsons[3] has published an account of the *nda* or so-called Squaw Dance which is a part of *anądji*. I am much surprised to find that Matthews makes no reference to this very common and important ceremony although he has published in great detail one of the myths[4] which belong to it. I shall refer to this myth in recording the acts of the second day in the hogan. It is almost incredible that Matthews should not have known to which rite the myth belonged; at any rate he gives no inkling of his knowledge.

The present description of the *anądji* is based on three performances witnessed by the writer and upon conversations with interpreters and medicine-men on the subject. In 1923 the ceremony from the evening of the first day to the end of the period was seen with the exception of the sunrise attack of the second day. This ceremony was held at Tiznasbas near the Four Corners. The entire performance until the afternoon of the second day was very similar to the one seen at Ganado in 1924. But the "Mud Dance" or *djacdjıni* which took place at Tiznasbas is not well known on the reservation. It occupied most of the afternoon of the second day. Near Ganado in 1924 I was present when the rehearsal of songs took place the first night and also at the attack the next morning. The actions in the afternoon of the second day near Ganado differed greatly from those at Tiznasbas at a corresponding time in the ceremonial order; they were more dignified and solemn. The parts of the ceremony seen at these two times did not include the making of the ceremonial wand *(ayał)* or rattle, as the Franciscans[5] call it.

[1] FF 366ff. See also note p. 133.
[2] AA 22 (1920): 304ff.
[3] AA 21 (1919): 465ff.
[4] JAFL 14: 20ff.
[5] FF 368.

I was fortunate enough in the summer of 1925 to be present at the making of the *ayal* near Wide Ruins. So altogether I have accumulated considerable data to supplement previous accounts. I shall incorporate all the information available; both my own observations and published statements in this account. Even then I make no claim that the description is exhaustive. The greatest need in the discussion of the whole matter is interpretation. I have gathered some interpretations here and there but they are scanty and their total leaves much to be desired for a real understanding of the whole ceremonial. Perhaps at some future time, someone armed with this description will be able to fill in the gaps left by present incomplete data.

The War Dance as given at Tiznasbas was an impressive spectacle. Many Navajo attended, many gifts were given and there was a great feast. The Mud Dance caused the afternoon to be given over chiefly to entertainment although the underlying purpose was to cure the sick and ailing. But the *anądji* given at Ganado was much more splendid. It surpassed the previous one in number of guests, amount of food consumed, presents given, dignity and solemnity. The rites of the second morning corresponded in essentials; they were much more elaborate. The Ganado performance of the second afternoon was long and solemn, it made the entire ceremony more unified, and to an objective audience, seemed more effective.

There is no doubt that the difference between the two shows was due to the difference in the economic status of the patients. The man at Ganado who had the ceremony performed was much richer than the one at Tiznasbas and proved it by greater display. I did not see the cooking activities at Tiznasbas but near Ganado the hosts slaughtered and prepared for eating nine sheep and goats during the short two hours I watched them. These were not nearly all the animals killed, for the flock was kept nearby and depleted whenever the meat supply ran low. The women in charge of the cooking used a huge brush house in which they cooked and served the food. There were three fires in the brush-hut and many women and children were continually being fed there. At least six — very likely more — women spent their entire time baking bread: camp bread, yeast bread baked in the Spanish ovens, and tortillas were the kinds I saw. One woman skinned and cleaned three sheep after the men had caught, hung and knifed them. She had the brief and much-interrupted assistance of a little girl and two women, but for the most part worked alone. The men ate in the hogan where the singing took place, under the shade in front of it, or outside wherever it was convenient — I never saw any men eating in the cookhouse.

Since we are here discussing the question of eating I should like to say that I was not impressed by the segregation of sexes at meals as was Dr. Parsons (AA 21: 467). Many of the women ate with the men at this ceremony. Although the men did not eat in the cooking house, neither did all the women.

On other occasions I frequently saw the women serve the men, then themselves, so that both sexes ate at the same time. At other times I have seen men served as they straggled in from their various activities after all the women had feasted. One memorable day, I was invited to "have a little mutton." Upon accepting I was waited on first by several women who served the men at the same time. They then helped themselves to food. By sharing this meal with them I obtained permission — refused before — to see a sand-painting, a privilege I had coveted for three years. Several days later after seeing the painting which belonged to the *nato'i baką* (Male Shooting Chant) I was treated with equal politeness. This time they gave me part of a roasted prairie-dog which was the tidbit of the feast. No, I think priority in eating depends not on sex or guest categories but rather on the "bringing up" of the hosts. Some Navajo will honor a guest, others will not, in most families men are served first but not necessarily alone, in others they, as well as the women, wait on themselves. I wish to emphasize the fact that some Navajo women entertain with the utmost grace, others are awkward and crude, usually from shyness and embarrassment. In this respect they are much like ourselves.

Besides differences which will become apparent during the discussion the songs belonging to *anądji* differ from those of other ceremonies. They do not need to be sung in definite order nor would a mistake do any harm.

In this connection I should like to discuss the matter of women's songs. Stephen [AA 6 (1893): 353] says, "Women never sing at social or religious gatherings although they sing really beautiful songs when a few of them get together by themselves, for they have soft pleasant voices."

When I asked about women's songs I was greeted with the surprised remark, "I don't see how women *could* sing any different songs."

And from Alex of Black Mt., "There are no women's songs but they sometimes know the horse or sheep songs which the men also know."

George Bancroft of Tuba City corroborates the above statements as does Matthews (Legends, 26). So it appears that songs belonging to the *nda* may be sung by men and women alike and they are the secular as opposed to the sacred songs belonging to the chants.

The purpose of the *anądji* is to cure an individual of all diseases which may have been contracted because of war or by the agency of one's enemies. A paragraph from Matthews[1] gives most clearly what was doubtless the old notion: "It is long since the Navajo went to war; but in former days when we fought our enemies we often suffered from war diseases. Our young men know nothing of this. One who killed an enemy by striking him in the chest would get disease in the chest, one who killed his enemy by striking on the head would get disease of the head, and one who killed by wounding in the abdomen would get disease of that part."

Further evidence of the same kind but which shows the *anądji* is not a scalp dance, "One who kills in war must be made black and must have the *anądji*.[2] But in old days when they had it they did

[1] JAFL 14: 20.
[2] See also FF 374.

not dance with the scalp for they did not take the scalp. Way back they used to take it but then they must have a special sing."[1]

There was doubtless a "sing" related to the Jicarilla Apache rite of purification after taking a scalp which involved such abstinence that scalping was dreaded rather than considered desirable as on the Plains.[2]

Since wars are no more it is impossible to get diseases by killing or seeing an enemy, nevertheless they may be contracted by means related to the old war customs. If a woman sees a dead person or the bones of one other than a Navajo while carrying a child, the child when it grows up may have bad luck in the form of disease which could be cured only by the *anądji* or War Dance. The same ill luck would be attracted if a man saw such things when his wife was pregnant. The sight of a slain enemy might also directly affect the individual concerned.[3]

Sydney, an excellent interpreter and a Navajo who in most respects might be considered sophisticated and acculturated to white ways, accompanied our party to Cañon de Chelley. When we came to the White House we invited him to visit the ruins with us. But he insisted upon "holding the horses" on a large boulder opposite. Now everyone knows that Navajo horses do not need to be "held." We were decidedly curious as to the reason for Sydney's excuses but did not press him. When I returned to his home the next summer I was introduced to his youngest son, Abe, who was five months old. I am sure Sydney did not visit the ruins because he might by chance behold one of the bones of the Ancient People. Such a sight would bring misfortune to his unborn child after it had grown up. It were better to avoid all possibility of such disaster than to expose a child to the necessity for having the *anądji* performed at great expense and probable suffering.

In the summer of 1925 we took Sydney and Sandoval, his father-in-law, to Mesa Verde. They visited several of the ruins with us but felt decidedly uncomfortable and could not understand why we could be interested in such places.

At Tiznasbas the ghost "was killed" with one of the bones of the Ancient People, at Ganado with a Ute scalp. The *ayał* made at Wide Ruins was taken to Allantown, thirty miles away, where the main part of the ceremony was held and I did not learn what sacred object was used.

When a person has been ailing for a long time he will consult someone[4] who has the ability to make prognostications. He may discover that his affliction is due to some oversight or blunder committed by one or both of his parents before he was born. He must

[1] Grover, cp. also FF 438.
[2] PaAM 8 (1911): 244.
[3] Cp. Guernsey AA 22: 304.
[4] FF 374.

then secure some object, such as an enemy's scalp, a bone from a ruin, or any part of the body of the enemy. The medicine-man he engages may be able to provide the proper object. He will make arrangements with the singer to conduct the ceremony and he will accumulate the necessary articles to make a proper show. Long before the ceremony begins news of it will be broadcast so that people can plan to be present. There is no limit to the number of folk invited. All may come who hear of the performance.

The man to be cured called *bandai'*, is the most important personage of the ceremony but he may be joined by several others who will share with him the expense as well as the benefits of the cure. They must all be of different clans. One of the other patients is generally the wife of the *bandai'*. Besides the medicine-man and the *bandai'* are the following important actors:

1. Those who have had war experience, and those who have had *anądji*. These are allowed in the hogan during the "blackening" and are given important duties to perform. They may help to make the *ayał*. Yellow Horse was allowed to care for the sacred bone (at Tiznasbas) for he had been a great warrior; he had fought many times with the Comanche and Cheyenne. He therefore had "power' which would make it safe for him to have contact with dangerous things. A woman who had been to war might also go into the hogan. She must stay behind *Naiγɛnɛzγani*, that is, on the north side of the hogan. "Any enemy (white man) who comes often enough may come in and get purified — anyone but a Mexican."

2. A virgin who must hold the wand, hence called "*aya'łnɛtini*, she holds the Wand." The wand is given to her father or to her mother's brother. He chooses the girl who is to be honored by carrying the wand. She must be of a clan different from that of the *bandai'*. At Ganado the *bandai'* was of clan *xonaγa'ani* (3), the man who chose the girl — perhaps her father — was *kınłitci'ini* (15), and the girl was *todɛtci'ini* (29).

3. A party of warriors from northwest of the place where the *ayał* is taken after being made. Perhaps some of the actors in Group 1 may be in the party.

4. The party of warriors at the hogan of the patient. The chief warrior at Ganado was *xonaγa'ani* (3).

5. A woman who dressed the patients *(bandai')*. She must be of the same clan as the chief patient or of a related clan.

6. A woman who has charge of blackening the patient's wife. At Ganado it was the wife's mother.

The entire ceremony may be described under the headings: Making of the Wand, the Blackening, Killing the Ghost, and the so-called Squaw Dance. I think it will be more satisfactory to describe the ceremony by order of happening than by these headings since each act is so closely related to the others. In the cases where it is possible to correlate the two I shall do so.

FIRST DAY: THE MAKING OF THE WAND

It is difficult to denote the meaning of *ayał*. Some call it a "wand" others a "rattle" but since this is a detailed description of a technical matter I need not apologize for referring to it by its Navajo name. The *ayał* must be made from the wood of juniper or cedar,[1] a stick about a yard long trimmed smooth except for a bunch of leaves left at the top.

There is mention of a tree which must not be destroyed for if it should be the entire benefits of the *anądji* would be dissipated. It seems that at sometime or other the *ayał* is laid in this tree. I am not quite clear about this matter. But it undoubtedly refers to the myth cited by the Franciscans.[2] The myth accounts for the origin of the rites by the mother of the War Gods, *Naiyɛnɛzyani* and *Tobactcictcini*. After they had killed the monster, *yeitso*, they hung his scalp on a tree before they told their mother. While they were telling her about their adventures they fainted and she revived them with medicine.

According to Matthews[3] they had put the scalp and broken arrows of *yeitso* in a basket and hidden it in the bushes before they reported to their mother. This may be the reason for holding the *ayał* over the basket while it is being made. It was customary for the Heroes to bring back to their mother a trophy from every monster they overcame.[4] Matthews[5] mentions also the fact that they had a dance to celebrate the first victory but not even in the note does he specify the rite although it may well have been *anądji*.

The place where the *ayał* is made must be north or west of the place where it is taken for the night's singing. It is made by those who have had the *anądji* performed or who will soon have it for themselves. The medicine man does not help; he merely tells them what to do.

One of the most characteristic features of the manufacture of the wand I saw made was the fact that the men making it were unskilled. They often did things wrong, but mistakes did not seem to have any bad effects. The medicine-man or someone in the audience — the hogan was full of people — called attention to the error and it was corrected. The man made mistakes in the direction of winding. He became more interested in dressing the stick than in its position and was frequently told to keep it over the basket. The

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[1] "Juniper" (Nav. *gad)* is used for *Juniperus occidentalis*, and "red cedar" or "cedar" (Nav. *ganie·li')* for *Juniperus virginianis*; the terms are used somewhat indiscriminately by the natives in the Southwest. But the Navajo are always exacting when using the Navajo words; they are careless only with the use of the translations.

[2] FF 366.

[3] Legends 116.

[4] Legends 116, 118, 121, 123, 124, 125.

[5] Legends 235.

first knot he made did not have the loop on top as it should. He untied it and did it over but was careful of the position of the loop thereafter. He sometimes forgot to tie something on where it belonged. Then he would unwind what he had done and put it in the right place. This rite differs greatly from many of the rites belonging to the chants in that mistakes can be remedied. In some of the curative chants a single misapplication might spoil the effect of the entire chant.[1] Mistakes in this case had absolutely no emotional effect on the audience, except that they wished the error corrected.

I shall now describe the rites seen at Wide Ruins, Aug. 13, 1925. A space was cleared in the west part of the brush hogan — opposite the door. Here the stick which had been cut with a tuft of leaves at the top reposed in a ceremonial basket. After the man had marked the *ayal* with the ceremonial figures the stick was to be held over the basket constantly. Near the basket were skeins and skeins of beautifully colored yarn which were to be used later. Each skein had been opened to its full length and the display made by the hit or miss combination of bright colors was very effective.

The other objects, among them a large number of long shoelaces, were also laid on the cleared space. It happened once that something

a my drawings *b* FF 367 *c* Legends, 253

Fig. 24.

was wanting, whereupon a Navajo was sent for it and all waited until he returned with it. Medicine-man, assistants, and audience conversed and smoked during the interim.

The first thing to be done was to cut the ceremonial designs on the stick. I saw them at a distance of from six to ten feet after they were made. My interpreter told me that they were like this. But since I did not pay special attention to the direction of the openings — mine are both at the upper right corner — it may be more exact to accept the data of the Franciscans who say the opening of the bow must be diagonally opposite the opening of the queue, Fig. 24 *b*. Matthews in describing and illustrating these two designs as symbols of the War Gods, *Nayenezyani* and *Tobactcictcini* (Fig. 24 *c*) shows both openings in the same corner but the corner is opposite mine.

Next the maker rubbed on the stick — always from base to tip — a gray medicine made of deer fat mixed with soot, and a red colored fat. Each person wishing to partake of its benefits rubbed a

[1] Cp. Legends, 24; JAFL 7: 185—194.

little of what remained of each on his face. The decorations were tied as close to the tuft of cedar at the top as possible. The tying upon this occasion was done with the shoelaces referred to above. Sacred buckskin[1] should have been used. Throughout, the wand I saw made was notable for the number of modern trade articles used in its construction.

The following objects were tied to the *ayał*: a bunch of yellow flowers (*tsıłdilgesi*, Gutierezzia euthamiae); four turkey feathers, two eagle tail feathers, two small bags filled with medicine, a streamer of turkey red and as many skeins of yarn as the stick would hold. I did not see what object was tied on to "kill the ghost." The Franciscans[2] say the scalp is used instead of the bunch of yellow weeds. At Tiznasbas the wand had the yellow flowers but I did not see the bone of the Ancient People on it. When finished the wand was very bright and gay, much bestreamered with yarn rather than calico as in the one described in the previous accounts. Altogether the wand I saw made corresponded very closely to the one other writers describe. After the *ayał* was completed the remaining skeins of yarn were distributed at random to the guests. They grabbed at them and each one fortunate enough to secure one — and there were many of these — placed it around his horse's neck. The leader with the *ayał* dashed off followed by a large number of horsemen sounding the warwhoop. A few who failed to get yarn purchased it at the trading store before the exodus.

The *ayał* was taken to Allantown *(łɛcndiyai)* some thirty-five miles east of Wide Ruins. The man had started to make it between eleven-thirty and twelve noon and it was finished about one-thirty or two. The next part of this description I owe to Grover Cleveland: At Allantown the "flag" was put in a sunwise direction around an old man who had purified himself by bathing. It was then put into his hand. He held it in the basket while he sang the *(dzał bɪyɪn)* Mountain Songs.

The reason for this is the tradition: "After they made *ɛstsanadlɛhɛ*, Changing Woman, they carried her from the top of the mountain called *dzolį*, Mountain of Variegated Beads,[3] *(dzolį bɛlatado)* and put her in a basket. They dressed her as they dressed the 'flag' and at Allantown they undress the 'flag', all but the medicine on it, as they undressed Changing Woman. She became a woman, then an old woman and again changed back to a young woman[4] just as the stick changed when dressed and undressed. The things taken from the wand were given to the guests for good luck."

The old man to whom the *ayał* is given is the one who chooses the

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[1] Cp. FF 367; AA 22:304.
[2] FF 367.
[3] FF 137.
[4] Changing Woman renews her beauty and virginity every morning. See Stephen, Proc. U. S. National Museum 1888: 135.

girl who is to carry it for the rest of the ceremony. She must be a virgin — the one I saw near Ganado looked about ten, the one at Tiznasbas seemed as old as fourteen — and of a clan different from that of the patient *(bandai)*. She must be very careful never to let the *ayal* touch the ground. She carried it most of the time for the entire duration of the ceremony but if she should have to let it out of her hands she must choose a high, well-protected place. She must at all times be very careful of it for if it should break bad luck would follow her. Guernsey saw the girl ride off, still holding the wand after the ceremony was over.[1]

Grover said that the old men at Allantown would sing all night. This assertion agrees well with Guernsey's description.[2] As this is a part of the ceremony I did not see I summarize from his account. The dance consisted of two facing lines of men who sang responsively accompanied by drum beating. The girl with the wand was present. According to Guernsey's description it was this party of men which made the attack on the hut of the patient the following morning.

There is some discrepancy here between the data given by Grover and Guernsey and that given by the Franciscan Fathers[3] and witnessed by myself. But since each description is corroborated by some other witness I believe that either of two performances may be chosen: the dance of the old men as described above, or the girls' dance which I proceed to give. Both cannot take place for each was seen the night before the attack and the girl with the wand was present at both. She could hardly be at the dance of the old men, if it were esoteric which it seems not to be, and at the "Girls' Dance (Squaw Dance)" which is public. The night before the attack near Ganado was spent by crowds of Navajo rehearsing old songs and learning new ones. A number of white people had made up a party to attend this gathering which I, judging from precedent, had supposed would be a Girls' Dance.

When we arrived at the place — and it was crowded — we found no dance. But many Navajo had come together, among them the best singers. Each singer would start a song and after he had repeated it several times the crowd would take it up. Old songs of course received immediate response, newer ones took longer but were eagerly learned. It was the pride of any singer to offer a new and difficult song. If it took the crowd a long time to learn it so much the better. All this was by way of rehearsal for the Girls' Dance which was to take place the next night.

There were rumors of another group singing a few miles away. "Just a few old men," it was said to be, and, "there was nothing interesting about it." I am sure this was the old men's dance which

[1] AA 22: 304.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] FF 370.

(a) Woman's Dance

(b) First dance of djajɪni

Guernsey describes. The absence of the Girls' Dance puzzled me at the time but I did not know of the other as an alternative. It is certain that the girl with the wand was not in the group of singers who were practising.

THE GIRLS' DANCE

The Girls' Dance, familiar to the whites of the Navajo territory as the "Squaw Dance" has been described in full by the Franciscans[1] and by Dr. Parsons,[2] as well as by Guernsey[3]. Their descriptions are adequate and I have little to add. In brief summary the girls, after a long period of rehearsing by the chorus, invite a man to dance by tugging at his coat and saddle. They dance after a time to the accompaniment of drum and chorus. Occasionally an old man comes out, jokes and harangues the men and tells them not to be stingy but to come dance with the girls and to pay them. The girl with the wand is in sight and keeps time with little motions of her feet and with the *ayal*. The earlier descriptions of the position of dancers and the steps give the old style. The woman held the man by the coat and he did not touch her.

At Tiznasbas the young people danced facing each other with the man's hand on the girl's shoulder [Pl. I (a)]. They used the same short shuffling step as in the old days. This type of dancing was brought back by school-children returning home. It is not in great favor among the old people for they do not think demonstration between the sexes, such as a man touching a woman in public, is "good."

This dance was repeated in the afternoon of the second day after the Mud Dance was over. I must confess that I do not quite understand the relation of this dance to the rest of the ceremony which is almost thoroughly unified. Each act has some direct relation to war and its significance can be weighted. But this Girls' Dance, or *nda*, seems to be primarily for the sake of entertainment and for the girls to make a little money, for each girl is paid by her partners. As far as I know the presence of the girl with the wand is the only feature which connects it with the curative rites. At Tiznasbas it was held for two entire nights and during a part of the afternoon of the second day. It is said that the Dance must terminate before the sun rises.

SECOND DAY: THE ATTACK

At sunrise of the second day the attack is made by the party bearing the *ayal*, or enemy, upon the party of the patient which rides out to meet the enemy. The first party must make the attack

[1] FF 370.
[2] AA 21: 465.
[3] AA 22: 302.

forward toward the east or south. For this reason the people participating see to it that their camp is a short distance north or west of the patient's home. Near Ganado the enemy party spent the night about one-half a mile from the place attacked. A party from Red Rock was pitted against the patient and his assistants who lived at Tiznasbas.

The patient's followers defended themselves from the enemy who rode up in a wild rush. There was a quick, sharp, confused encounter. Shots were fired; the members of both parties used blank cartridges. As soon as the skirmish was over all the participants rode off laughing and joking. The assembly now went about the business of eating the morning meal while the main actors in the ceremony who were obliged to fast betook themselves to the hogan where they prepared for the "blackening."

MORNING OF THE SECOND DAY: THE OFFERINGS.

About nine or ten o'clock the guests, after feasting and visiting for a number of hours, reassembled near the ceremonial hogan. The latter was of the usual type and I do not think it was built especially for this ceremony. Immediately in front of the hogan entrance (east) a shade had been built. At Tiznasbas hogan and shade were small. At Ganado both were large, the shade especially being capable of sheltering many people from the hot sun.

There was a small group of people in the hogan. They were those who because of power acquired in war or through the *anądji* were allowed in a sacred place. All were dressed in their best and all had ceremonially washed their hair in yucca suds. The men were on the south side of the hogan and the women on the north.[1]

The women were relatives of the son of Mr. Moustache-of-Many-Goats-Clan who was the chief patient. His wife was one of the *bandai* and the other women were qualified to be there for some such reason. There was a smudge fire of sagebrush just behind the center of the house. It was difficult to see many details in the brief time I was allowed in the hogan to present my gift. But I saw there was a kind of altar opposite the door where the contents of the medicine bundle were spread out. The medicine-man, Coarse Hair, sat behind the fire, south of the medicine display. The *bandai* with his attendants occupied the front central space and received the gifts.

The purpose of this arrangement was to accumulate the gifts which all polite guests should contribute. The profane were allowed entrance to the hogan for a very short time, just long enough to deposit the gift and depart. Twice I have been privileged to make my offering. Twice I have been inclined to dawdle about it. And

[1] Would this correspond to the location of Peace and War chiefs in the *natc'it*? Undoubtedly the ceremonial position for war activities is the south. See also the position of sexes at the blackening of the woman, p. 128.

twice I have been invited to be expeditious in my generosity. I did all the gazing possible to one going into a dim smoking enclosure from the bright sunlight. My presentation of the gift was too leisurely and my glance around too curious to suit the taste of the initiated. Politely but firmly I was bid to make haste.

The gifts offered upon this occasion are sometimes very pretentious. Yards and yards of calico, ribbons, cash, candy, anything decorative, even sheep or goats may be offered although the latter are not brought in. Tobacco in any form is more than ordinarily acceptable. At Tiznasbas each of the four members of our party contributed a silver dollar and a pack of cigarettes. At Ganado we offered half dollars and several packages of cigarettes. In each case we were thanked most graciously by several old men delegated for the purpose and we were accepted thereafter as guests deserving of all possible favors. I cannot agree with those who consider the Navajo ungenerous and ungracious hosts.

Plenty of time was allowed for all the visitors to leave their gifts. A guest was hurried only when he got into the hogan. It seemed as if some hung back purposely to prolong the gift-giving part of the ceremony. But after a goodly amount of things had been piled up inside the hogan the guests arranged themselves in the spaces between the hogan and the shade. Since I have more detailed information of the performance at Tiznasbas for this part of the ceremony I describe the one I saw there; the one at Ganado was very similar. Women from Red Rock dressed in their best and with fluffy yucca-washed hair stood in a semi-circle west of the shade and facing the hogan entrance (Fig. 25). The Girl with the Wand stood in the center.

Fig. 25.

The circle represents the hogan; the cross, the girl with the wand; dots, women; the rectangle, the shade.

There was a chorus of singers within the hogan and the women outside joined in it. Suddenly things began to fly out of the smoke-hole — bunches of ribbon and calico, packets of cigarettes and tobacco, small pieces of calico tied in funny heavy knots, bags of candy, and miscellaneous articles. The audience, including some of the women in the semi-circle, scrambled to get the things. The cash had been tied into the pieces of calico. Then a woman of Many Goats clan came out of the hogan and put calico around the necks of the women from Red Rock and the line broke up.

Calm gradually settled over the entire place as the visitors waited the re-appearance of the *bandai*. For he had gone into the hogan again with the medicine-man and a few selected helpers. He and all who wished to be cured had to be blackened for the next part of the rite.

SECOND DAY: THE BLACKENING

There was an old war custom which demanded that a warrior who had killed an enemy be blackened soon after the fight.[1] The spirit of the slain was believed to pursue his killer and no doubt the blackening was a means of making him unrecognizable to this dread power. So that if a man succeeds in escaping such a spirit he not only derives the benefit which comes from safety but he acquires also power with which to deal with all similar dangers in the future. Hence the blackening was, and is, done.

Coarse Hair, the medicine-man who presided at Tiznasbas, gave me the following detailed account of the happenings in the hogan during the blackening process:

First he burned four kinds of leaves[2]: *tc'ɬdilyɛsɛ'*, dodgeweed, Gutierezzia euthamiae;[3] *tsɛ'ji*, ?; *Ɬonasta'si*, grama grass, Bouteloua hirsuta; and *Ɬo'ɬɛtci'γi*, ?; in order to make charcoal. They were burned on a flat rock and two sticks, about eighteen inches long were used to push them down and turn them. When the men had finished using the black ash that resulted someone carried it to a rock in the shade and it was never used again "but it may be touched sometimes."

Deer fat, fat of the mountain sheep *(tsɛ'ta' dɛbɛ')*, of the mountain lion *(nɛsdu· tso')*, of wolf *(maį' tso')*, and of otter *(tobasti'n)* are all carried in a horn in the medicine pouch. A small amount of each was mixed with sheep fat and rolled into a ball and laid down. A single crow's feather and a feather of the turkey buzzard *(sico·)* were laid beside the ball of fat. A feather the size of a thumb was dipped in charcoal and another was dipped into red paint *(tci')*.

Coarse Hair then took fifteen points of the narrow-leaved yucca *(tsa so·'z)* softened them "like buckskin," and tied four knots in each, then he tied five loops which could be pulled out one by one in each and laid the fifteen yucca strips in a row. He "tamed" (softened) six more yucca leaves, cut them even at the ends, tied three with buckskin, held them over the patient, braided them for about two inches, left a part the size of the wrist loose and tied them again. Then he tied all of the bracelets together and laid them[4] in front of him.

Next a shallow pot containing juniper *(ganie·li')* twigs and a gourd dipper containing thirteen herb medicines were placed in front of Coarse Hair who sat with legs extended. A blanket (a piece of calico would do) was put under these receptacles. The material used is called *ayaizikal*, "it lies under." Coarse Hair stirred the medicine in the gourd while adding water, took it in his mouth and sprayed it

[1] FF 374.
[2] Cp. Matthews; JAFL 14: 22; Tozzer, Put. Aniv. Vol.
[3] FF 186.
[4] Cp. JAFL 14: 22. The Franciscans do not describe this part of the medicine.

over the blanket. As he repeated this act he began to sing and to knead the patient's leg with the yucca strips. He pulled out the loops as the strip touched the following places: two at the toes, two at the ankles, two at the knees, two at the hips, one at the heart and at the middle of the back. Then he kneaded the arms the same way and pulled loops out at the end of the fingers, on the shoulders and on the top of the head — at fifteen points altogether.

He continued to knead the entire body with the yucca strips and to blow the medicine from his lips, meanwhile singing and waving the yucca about so as to sing away all bad things which might be inside. The assistant then took the yucca and some corn pollen to the north (outside the hogan) and put them on the branches of a tree. He spread the pollen first and laid a yucca strip on, then more pollen and another strip and so on.[1]

The patient had been wearing a thick black leather cord. Coarse Hair kneaded him with this, then placed it on the right side of the altar. Then he put pollen on his hands and pressed the knees and shoulders of the patient with an upward motion, finally putting pollen on his feet, knees, palms, chest, back, shoulders and heart, and in his mouth. The patient also washed his hands in pollen. They put the pollen away to the right of the medicine-man. Next he took the medicine in the gourd and while singing put it four times to the mouth of the patient who sipped a little each time, and rubbed the remainder over his body.

The braided yuccas were tied to a "crowsbill" and this was used for a head scratcher. If a man catches a crow he gives it to a woman who smothers it with pollen and makes a head-scratcher of it by fastening it to a large hollow reed *(no'ɣatsa')* for an occasion like this. The patient's wife had a scratcher of juniper to which reeds and turkey down were bound with buckskin. This is called "woman's crow." The treatment of the patient's wife will be discussed later (p. 128). The patient had a big pile of valuables at the right side of the six yuccas and at the left were buckskin shoulder-bands *(ɣaɣa'ahazdzɛ')* and the tail feather of a roadrunner *(nadzɛ'lo·zi')* sprinkled with pollen. The bird had been caught, pollen had been sprinkled over it and shaken off. This pollen had been used on the tail feather.

A piece of skin from a deer, which had been smothered with pollen, was filled with sacred pollen, the tail feathers plucked from a live bird were put into a bag of pollen, it was tied and wrapped for a distance of about two inches and this was tied on the patient's head. He then put on his silver bracelets and other jewelry.

Coarse Hair who sat at the right of the altar sang seven songs to scatter the ghosts of the Ancient People whose bones were lying

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[1] Perhaps this is the tree that according to the myth, should not be destroyed (see p. 117) but I think that has reference to the *ayał*.

around. One song was about a woman and a girl *(anasα'zi'*, really "Ancient People"). Another contained the name of the patient who blew out four times.[1] There were five more songs not described.

The assistant now came over to paint the patient at the direction of Coarse Hair who sang a song meaning:

Nayɛnɛzyani killed all the Indian (?) people . . .

The assistant took the bowl of medicine, held it to the sun four times,[2] applied it to the fifteen points of the patient's body. He drank some and it was passed to all in the hogan. The daughters and wife of the patient were outside under the shade and it was taken to them. The patient's wife rubbed herself with it and all sipped it. Anyone who wished the bowl could take it home.

"Now the medicine-man was thirsty." The assistant put a little piece of foxtail grass *(haze'ldą'i)* in Coarse Hair's mouth, then burned some medicine for ashes. Coarse Hair put crow and buzzard feathers on the assistant's head and marked his hands with ashes, first the right, then the left. The assistant began to sing, held a coal to the sun, called the patient's name four times and slapped his chest making him turn from left to right and blow out (the bad things). He then applied black grease to the fifteen points of the patient's body always at the right side first. He also greased a small part of the hair and he put black grease and feathers around the man's jaw. All who were inside then blackened themselves. An old man, Yellow Hair, who had been a war leader put a small handful of ashes on a rock.

The rest of the black grease was divided among all present and the patient was blackened all over. The assistant next painted him with pitch of piñon *(dɪstci')* and willow while Coarse Hair sang. The assistant then sent some red paint outside and used some to paint the face of the patient red and he made three shiny spots on each cheek with specular iron ore *(dɛstci')*. Then he took red paint and water in his hands and rubbed it over the hair of the patient from front to back.

Yellow Hair, the war leader, took the ashes out to where the bones of the Ancient People lay. Coarse Hair inside the hogan sang and all the people called out. "Yellow Hair put ashes on the bones[3] at four places; some he was afraid to apply ashes to." He stayed there to tend the bones, but faced toward the hogan where the patient was.

The medicine-man took up the crowsbill and the patient took some beads, they held these in their hands during the singing which followed. Coarse Hair put dirt from a gopher's hole[4] in the mocca-

[1] See p. 96.
[2] Cp. AA 22: 305.
[3] There was no evidence that they had more than *one* bone!
[4] Perhaps gopher dung.

sins of the patient and some in his wife's, as he started another song. Then, singing continuously he shook the crowsbill up and down over the altar. He shook the roadrunner's tail, the buzzard's feathers and the wolf's tail in succession. After picking up each object he turned, holding it to the east, south, west, north, and up in turn.

He then took the moccasins of the patient's wife out to her. When he began to sing again the patient and his wife put their moccasins on. Coarse Hair next gave the six yuccas to his assistant who rubbed them up and down the patient's arm and tied them at his wrist (I presume there were two bracelets of yucca, each braided from three strips).

As the medicine-man began another song each person in the hogan put his leather bandoleer over the left shoulder and under the right arm. They were permitted to do this because they had once been *bandai*.

After the roadrunner's tail had been handed to him the assistant put it around his head in a sunwise direction then tied it on his head. Everyone then put on all his valuables. The assistant gave the patient a present, and it was said, at some future day about sunset the patient would return a gift. The exchange of gifts makes the assistant and patient ceremonial brothers. Sometimes men hesitate to serve as assistants because the exchange of gifts is demanded. But as a reward each gains an especially good friend.

The crowsbill was then given to the patient and the "woman's crow" was taken out to his wife. As the men came out of the hogan the women outside all covered their heads. The *bandai* accompanied by the other men who had once been *bandai*, went to where Yellow Hair was tending the bones. He "killed the ghost" by pointing four times toward the ashes on the bone with the crowsbill. Then all stepped back and he pointed the crowsbill up four times and inhaled from the sun with hands cupping toward his mouth. They all pulled the bandoleers from the left to the right shoulder and went back into the hogan. The patient put white clay *(l'ec)* on the parts of his body where the bow signs are on *Naiγenezγani* and they all ate the ceremonial gruel. It was made by stirring water in white cornmeal. It was stirred in a sunwise direction with five sticks and was unflavored *(gad adin*, no "cedar"). Then it was set out to cool and when the blackened ones returned they ate the mush with the fingers curved; the rest of the *bandai* also ate. After the ceremonial feast the patient dressed.

This concluded the cure and all necessary acts for the *anądji* as far as it was done at Tiznasbas. The patient's wife was being treated under the shade at the same time that her husband was being blackened. The "ghost was killed" in the manner here described. At Ganado the blackening of the patient was done in the hogan before noon, but his wife was blackened under the shade in

the afternoon. I saw this and will describe it next. The entire performance accords very well with Coarse Hair's account which is much more detailed for I did not know the names of the medicines they used. It took all afternoon to kill the ghost. It seems as if at Ganado they "spread out" the acts so as to last all day whereas at Tiznasbas they accomplished all in the morning so as to leave time for the more entertaining Mud Dance in the afternoon. The actions at Tiznasbas were considered quite adequate.

The *anądji* at Ganado was very similar to the one here described until noon. There was the attack, the presentation of gifts and the blackening of the patient. Shortly after noon many of the guests gathered about the shade. Those who had horses sat on them but the ceremonial assistants were careful that no one got into a very large open space at the east and south of the shade.[1] A trail was kept open opposite the door of the hogan, the women sitting on the north side and the men on the south. I do not know why the sexes are segregated.

I think I may here relate an amusing incident. I was wearing my usual camp costume consisting of blouse, knickers and puttees, a costume which sometimes amused the Navajo women. When the group assembled under the shade I sat, of course, on the side of the women (north). An old woman behind me seemed to be arguing mildly with another. The only words I could understand were frequently repeated "*ɛstsą*, woman" and "*hastin*, man" with an interrogative intonation. After about fifteen minutes the first old lady nudged me and pointed to the south side, thus delicately (?) indicating that I should sit with the men where I belonged. Much amused I moved over. Many of the Navajo men wear their hair bobbed and there was no way for them to be sure of my sex. Just after I had moved over things began to happen. The *bandai's* wife was brought out and the crowd became denser so that I was pushed over to the south side of the shade and was surrounded by men on all sides. But I had a splendid view of the blackening. For some time, I should say more than an hour, I sat, all the while becoming more and more at ease and more interested. Suddenly a woman who was sitting diagonally opposite me and who had not been near those who had made me go to that side burst out laughing and shouted "*ɛstsą* (woman)!" But aside from considering it a huge joke that a woman should be sitting on the men's side the audience made no further objection and I stayed where I was.

After the visitors had been seated a buffalo robe was spread in the empty space and the patient's wife sat on it. Then a most distinguished lady (I used the term advisedly) came to superintend matters. She was the mother of the woman to be blackened. I do not quite understand how she could have been there without being seen by the *bandai*, her son-in-law. However I remember that he was quite a distance away from her. The Navajo are very efficient in observing the mother-in-law taboo in a matter-of-fact manner.

The woman patient was screened by blankets which were held by women who sat around her. Her mother held the blanket down at the foot and gave directions. Medicines and paints were brough.

[1] Cp. AA 22: 306.

in the same order as given by Coarse Hair. Each was passed to the woman under the blanket. I was able to see under it. She applied them to the ceremonial portions of her body, rubbed the paint and medicine over her body under her skirt and blouse,[1] and drank of the liquid concoctions. She passed what was left of each article to the audience, each of whom drank eagerly or rubbed portions on his body. It was said that the juniper medicine was the most important. It was put on the *ayał* and the girl who carried it drank all that remained. They said this was to make rain. I did not see them use the "woman's crow."

While the women were busy blackening the *bandai's* wife the men who had participated in the rites in the hogan had formed in line headed by the leader *(tsɛyɛna'ɛ·c*, "he steps ahead, or he steps in front"). He was an old man who had actually been in war. He it was who killed the ghost and he was paid ten or twelve dollars. He had the same place as Yellow Hair in the preceding description. The men spent the whole afternoon dancing and singing. *Naiyɛnɛz-yani* songs were sung because he was the first war director. The *hackɛ'* (Warrior) name in the song as well as the war or holy names of the *bandai* killed the ghost. The names of the ruins off the reservation, one nearby and one farther away, were also announced four times each for the same purpose. The mere recital of these names has power to dispel any evil the ghost might bring. After the names had been recited in song and the Ute scalp (in place of the bone from a ruin) had been pointed in the various directions everyone who had ever been *bandai* got off his horse and offered gifts to the medicine-man. This part of the ceremony continued for several hours.

All of this took place at such a distance from the shade where I sat that details could not be seen. No one was allowed in the space except the warriors. Guernsey[2] refers to the behavior of an old blind man who was guided with *ayał* in hand to a place some distance away where he went through motions apparently to exorcise the ghost. This blindness and helplessness was probably ceremonial for the same thing happened at Ganado. The *ayał* was hidden in the sagebrush and a seemingly blind, crippled, feeble man hunted it. In vain he sought for some time and the warriors shouted at him. Guernsey[3] says they asked his name. I did not know the meaning of this but the audience laughed and shouted at him from a distance and after a time the "ghost was planted." This long-drawn-out ceremony, I am sure, had exactly the same significance as the shorter one at Tiznasbas but the announcement of the names was public instead of private, and the songs were accompanied by steps (dances).

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[1] The interpreter said that in the old days the women were dressed when treated and the blanket screen was used.

[2] AA 22: 306.

[3] *Ibid.*

After a time spent in feasting the Girls' Dance was held and the assembly broke up shortly before sunrise.

For four days after this ceremony those who took active part should not eat meat, anything salty, sweet or hot. But they may eat anything made of corn and may drink water. These precautions are to keep teeth and eyes strong. For four nights after the ceremony men must be continent. After the fourth night the men and their wives bathe and drink a tea of meadow rue *(tajiltcin)* after which they may sleep together.

In the Shiprock area the preparatory rites of purification include merely fasting the morning of the day of blackening and the shampoo with yucca suds. No sweatbath is used nor is an emetic taken. "The Navajo close to the pueblos use an emetic before *anądji* but not on this side because it is not in the story."

THE MYTH

Coarse Hair told the myth upon which the treatment of the patient is based. It shows some resemblance to the one published by Matthews which he calls "The Treatment of ailing Gods."[1] But since there are differences I shall give the version I obtained:

"Once a man was walking around near San Juan Mountain *(dɛbɛnsa')*, one of the sacred mountains. He saw a fire. Three times he did this; every night he saw a fire but could find no track the next morning. Finally the fourth time he put up a stick like a surveyor *(sic!)* to sight it. The next morning it was in the same place. He went there, found a hogan. A woman was inside. An old man ran in and said, 'My son-in-law!' At *kintyɛl* (Aztec)[2] where there were many people the man lived. He was named *łonainɛlį* or *łiztso hastin*. Whenever the people came to Aztec the old man told them to stay on one side. He went to the other side, caught the people and took off their clothes and jewels and took them home. The son-in-law got nothing. After this had happened four times the son-in-law became sad. His wife asked, 'What is the matter?'

"'*łiztso* catches the men with medicine. When he kills them he takes the skin from the back of the neck, and sinew and little unborn babies (to make medicine).'

"The man's wife began to think about this. She made a bag just like her father's. She put something in it and exchanged it for her father's. Again they went. This time *liztso* got none; the son-in-law got it all. The old man began to think. He asked his son-in-law if he had medicine for he wanted to compare them. He put them together; all looked the same. The old man became sick; both were ill. That is where the medicine-men *(diyini*, "medicine-

[1] JAFL 14: 20—23.

[2] There were two *kintyɛl*, "broad houses," one at Aztec and the other at some other place, perhaps Pueblo Bonito.

making holy ones") start from. But they would not worship yet. They were still sick. A kind of fly called *notelɛjinɛ* said the medicine would not be good.

"One carrying a buckskin ran over, addressing him as 'my good father,' begged him to make medicine. He did not look up. Four times he went and four times the old man refused to look. The fly came again and asked, 'What did you give him?'

"'We gave four buckskins but he would not do it.'

"The fly told them to soak the buckskin in the dirt. 'Make a tobacco bag of it,' he said. They made the *łogatsona k'ɛtan* (a large very special prayerstick). They decorated it with paint and put on it the bow-sign of *Naγɛnɛzγani*, the Slayer of Alien Gods, and the queue sign of *Tobactcictcini*, his brother. He ran over and his hogan was cleaned out. He sat with feet together by his side (?). He put the *k'ɛtan* on his right foot, carried it over his head to his hand. He looked at the tobacco sack made of the buckskin. He picked out the *k'ɛtan* and looked at it on both sides, on one was the bow, on the other the queue. He smelled it. He said, 'My grandfather, who taught you?'

"He said, 'Nobody. I thought about it and made it that way.'

"'I am not going to scold you for *dontso* (only) knows me,' he said, 'He knows my *k'ɛtan*.'

"'The two have been pretty sick.'

"'Tomorrow I will go,' he said.

"He ran back. They looked for him (the medicine-man) all day. At night they saw his fire way up there. (It was the Fire God). He told the messenger he would stay there that night. Four times they went and camped. The last night they came close to it. They built a little shed for him. They killed a deer with two-pronged horns and gave him to eat of it. When he got through with the meal he came over to the sick people, now nearly dead. These things start from that."

Sandoval continued relating another part of the same myth as follows:

"When the dance was over the patient *(bandai)* slept with his wife. Then the fly came around and told him not to sleep with his wife. 'If you do that you will get sick awful bad. You must stay away four nights. You get sick because you stepped in an enemy's blood. Now you have the dance again. Leave your wife outside; you stay inside. That will be better.'

"Then *hactcɛjinɛ* came there, 'Now my children you broke that *k'ɛtan*. You will have trouble. You make it of *gat' yaj* (juniper) or *gadnnieli* (another kind of juniper). Make an *ayat* two and one-half feet long. On the east put a bow at the bottom. On the west put a queue. He (Fire God) sang:

"'*ca la ai lɛc·ɛ an*
He made for me

"'On top put soft turkey feathers *(taji ts'os)*, *atsɛ'd sɨldilgesi* (yellow weed). In front of the bow a line of black rain *(nɨltsq'nadjɨn)* made of yarn. (Interpolation by the interpreter — 'When they give it out the women are glad to get that yarn').

"*asayaγɛli* (Pot Carriers, or Drums) used to live like people. They asked them for the little pot with which to make the drum. They call it *tolanastcin*, 'water where it collects in rocks' (all kinds of mixed water). They put the drool of the enemy in it. They stretched a black cloud over the north side of the pot and tied it with rain-strings. They marked mouth and eyes on it with black paint. Of a rainbow they made a curved drumstick. The ghost of the Ancient People they killed with it. For when they beat the drum it was the face of the enemy being beaten. That is the way they do to kill the enemy."[1]

MUD DANCE: AN INCIDENTAL CEREMONY

The afternoon of the second day of the *anądji* may be given over to entertainment. Guernsey[2] mentions horse-racing and other games. At Tiznasbas the afternoon was devoted to the *djajɨni*, Black Ears (very probably a folk etymology). It is a dance not well known to the Navajo but one greatly enjoyed by them. Many had never heard of it before. Nobody with whom I spoke at Ganado knew it. It was known at Ft. Defiance. All informants who know of it say it comes from Jemez.[3] I have called it the Mud Dance because the participants coat themselves with mud.

Twelve men called *nat'a·'ni'* and a drummer prepared themselves in the hogan. They were nude except for a breechcloth and had smeared themselves and each other with mud and water from head to foot. They dipped their headbands in the mud before they tied back their hair. The mud is said (a myth of the whites) to make them impervious to pain. It was said that they could walk on cactus, sharp stones, etc. without any ill effects. The Indians were amused at the idea. I noticed that all were very careful where they stepped even when running fast.

Suddenly the thirteen came tumbling out of the smokehole of the hogan, ran north, danced and returned to a place north of the shade where they danced about [Pl. I (b)]. Anyone who wished to be cured advanced; men and children were lifted high above the heads of the *nat'a·ni'* and gently tossed in the air and caught again [Pl. II (c)]. The children who were brought were frightened almost to death, but they were handled very carefully. Tenderness to children is a marked trait of Navajo men. A woman was put into a blanket like

[1] See Matthews AA 7 (1894): 202—208.
[2] AA 22: 307.
[3] Cp. Russell, AA 11 (1898): 367—372 who describes Apache clowns *(tcącjɨni)* and their dance.

(c) Man being tossed for curing

(d) After the tossing

(e) Woman in blanket being shaken for curing

(f) Horse and rider captured by djajtni

an inanimate object [Pl. III (e)]. All the actors took hold of the blanket and shook it up and down at about knee-height. During this performance they sang and the drummer kept time. They had a small piece of sheepskin with a red blotch in the center. This was used to cure some, but was used most by those joining the curing party. The blood on the sheepskin must be something disgusting and powerful. It may be the excretion from the sore of a horse, or menstrual fluid. A man shows his power by not fearing it. Some were made to sit on it and it was rubbed on the heads and backs of others. One of the dancers wore a long-haired sheepskin on his head. I do not know whether this had been treated in the same way or not.

When there was a lull in the performance several of the actors left the circle, ran out where the horsemen sat as audience and pulled certain ones off their horses [Pl. III (f)]. If they were caught they were obliged to come under the shade, undress and join the *nat'a·ni'*. Mud in a pail and a tub of water were used to paint the new performers as well as the patients. They were smeared from foot to head, especially the back, face and hair. The *nat'a·ni'* blew upon them, spit on them and put mud into their mouths. After this treatment the new recruits took up their position in the circle.

The acts of tossing the patients alternated with chasing those on foot and on horse so that they might join the ranks of *nat'a·ni'*. There were supposed to be thirty-two at the end but there were actually only twenty-two or twenty-three. The chase and struggle were entertaining. At first horses were followed by the actors on foot but were always caught. The horse, as well as his rider, was subject to the mud bath and used thereafter by the *nat'a·ni'* to secure recruits. Several times they raced two or three miles but the pursued was always brought back captive.

This kind of play continued for about three hours. At the end of that time no one came forward to be cured. Then all the *nat'a·ni'* lay down flat on their stomachs one in line behind the other, so close that the head of one touched the feet of the one in front of him. The last one got up, walked along the trail of bodies and lay down, the last one left did likewise in leapfrog style until each had walked the length of the entire line. Some actually walked on the bodies of their companions and the others placed their feet on the ground close by the men. At last they all arose, formed a snakeline and ran off to the spring. There they sprinkled cornmeal and washed, then returned to eat the ceremonial unflavored gruel *(ta·nil)*. The dance is said to be for rain and curing.

Note: I became aware of Professor Tozzer's "Notes on Religious Ceremonials of the Navaho" in the Putnam Anniversary Volume, (1909) after this paper had been set in page proof and I am extremely sorry not to have been able to correlate his very interesting data with my own material, also not to have given him credit for a partial description of the War Dance not given by the other authors mentioned on page 112. His remarks on "Shivering" (p. 307) and on the "Rite of Charcoal Painting" (p. 339) are of especial interest.

XII. CRISES OF LIFE: MINOR CEREMONIES

Because the major ceremonies are so interesting and because they occupy such a large part in the lives of the Navajo most of the interest of recorders has been concentrated on them and the minor ceremonies have been more or less neglected. The Franciscan Fathers and Curtis give the only accounts of the latter.[1] Therefore I shall describe several minor, but no less important, ceremonies which affect every individual of the tribe.

BIRTH

The celebration at the birth of a child may hardly be classed as a ceremony. It is rather the occasion for an assembly of rejoicing and thankfulness.

The mother sits on a sheepskin in the hogan. A belt is tied round her and fastened to a post or beam of the house. The women who assist her are her mother, her sister or any female relative. Her husband's mother may also be present. One holds her hips, another her knees. A medicine-man touches her with a feather while he sings, but renders spiritual aid only, for the women attend to the mother. As soon as the child is born the woman who held the mother's knees ties the cord and binds the child with a fungus. Then she takes it outside the hut and washes it with yucca suds in a pile of ashes.

The newborn baby is tied in a sheep-hide until it is about a month old when it is put into a cradle-board. It is kept in one of these most of the time until it is "too big", two years or older. But as it grows, larger cradle-boards are used so as not to cramp it.

Immediately after the baby is born the mother drinks thin gruel from a cup. The gruel has been made by a young girl, the sister of the woman or of her husband. This maiden is paid for rendering this service. "The porridge makes the woman feel good." The assistants and medicine-man are paid one of the following: a sheep, buckskin, a hide or blanket, or a horse. The more they are paid the sooner the woman will recover.

Normally there is no ceremony performed over the child. But if it is frail it is rubbed with sage and sung over. It seems that the usual Navajo preventive measures are sometimes used, for Sandoval sang over Mary's baby which was as large and healthy as one could desire. Striker says they sing over all young babies and feed them medicine to make then strong.

Twins are considered extraordinarily good luck and everything possible is done so that both survive. According to the Franciscans[2]

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[1] See note on preceding page.
[2] FF 451.

when twin colts are born both colts and mare are killed. Mary Sandoval has the following to say on this subject, "Some say twin colts are bad luck and kill both as well as the mare. Others do not care. However if they are killed the owners will become rich anyway for it is better luck. Twin sheep and goats are good luck. Quadruplets are bad luck but may be raised. But three-legged goats are bad luck and are killed." Abnormalities of any kind are feared. Mary once had a hairless goat but had it killed after two months for she was afraid to keep it.

The Franciscans[1] record that the recognition of a child by its parents depends upon the fact of its crying or not making a sound as soon as it is born. If it cries all is well, if not, it is deposited in a tree and left, no attempt being made to make it cry.

One of my informants says it is bad luck to name a child as soon as it is born. It is named when about two or three months old. Its name is kept by its mother and may be announced during an *anądji*, War Dance.

GIRL'S ADOLESCENCE

The *kınalda'* (first menses) is the name given to the girl's adolescence ceremony. This is carried on for four days. That is, the girl observes ceremonial restrictions during that time. But as is usual with Navajo ceremonies, only the acts of the last night are public and therefore, they are the only ones known in detail. As is also usual, they are not necessarily the most important.

Let us glance first at the legendary record of the nubility rite:[2]

Changing Woman, *ɛstsanadlɛhɛ'*, who is the most important Navajo divinity, was born of Horizontal Woman and Upper Darkness. She was found on a mountain top, picked up and taken home by a stranger. In twelve days she had become a big girl, and in eighteen days, a woman. It was then that the ceremony[3] was held over her.

According to another version[4] Changing Woman was made at the assembly of the Holy Ones from a little image of turquoise.

For some reason or other Matthews has very few descriptions of the mythical rites. He omits them, he says, because they are tedious. Curtis, however, gives the myths belonging to some of the minor ceremonies. There are as usual many inconsistencies in the versions given by different recorders. But Curtis[5] gives many of the ceremonial details of the *kınalda'*. After First Woman had dressed White Shell Woman in beautiful garments and jewels she made a special

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[1] *Ibid.*
[2] Legends 104, 134, 230, 238.
[3] Legends 230.
[4] Legends 105.
[5] Curtis Vol. I Navajo 94.

seat for her of deerskin, blankets and the skin of a mountain lion. After an argument Talking God decided that he would sing fourteen songs after which each of the Holy Ones sang six. At dawn First Woman shampooed the girl's hair with suds of yucca in a bowl of white shell. The water, black rain and blue rain, was poured from two bottles of jet. Then White Shell Woman ran east followed by some of the young people. When she returned the singers left, taking the blankets as gifts for their services.

In many respects the details of this myth correspond with the *kınalda'* as it is given today. The myth is doubtless more similar to the celebration of the old days. I witnessed only the performance of the last night but secured information about the first three days from informants.

The actions here recorded are said to begin the day of the first appearance of the menses of the girl. I have not been able to ascertain whether this date is actual or ceremonial — it is probably actual. At any rate a four-day ceremony takes place. At the beginning of this period the girl's hair is tied at the back with the skin of a mountain-lion and is allowed to hang over her face which she does not wash for four days. During the time she grinds much corn for the corncake which is to be made the last night. Grinding constantly will make her industrious. The other women about the house also grind constantly to set her a good example. There are other general prescriptions which hold for the entire duration of the ceremony:

1. The girl must eat no meat or sweets or anything flavored. She may eat things made of corn[1] without salt. This regulation will prevent her from becoming lazy and ugly.

2. She should not touch water with her lips but may suck it through a tube.

3. She may not scratch herself, to do so would make her scarred where her nails touch. But she has no scratching stick.

4. She must lie on her back when she sleeps, but she should not sleep much.

All of these restrictions are kept the first two times she menstruates. If she is married before puberty the ceremony is held at the first menses. If she has only one period before her first child is born she observes the restrictions of the second time at its birth. In such case she is not obliged to run. She never needs to refrain from speaking to men nor does she feel "ashamed" in their presence.

According to Curtis[2] the girl bathes and dresses in her good clothes on the first morning. Then she lies face down on a blanket and is pressed and moulded into shape by a female relative. Or, if none is available "by a male relative not her father." The Francis-

[1] Cp. Curtis 125.
[2] Curtis 128.

cans[1] also record this as an important feature of the ceremony. The kneading is one of the most outstanding characteristics of the public ceremony[2] of the Apache. Among the Navajo it has a strong ceremonial but no dramatic significance.

As soon as the kneading has been accomplished a woman who is industrious, ambitious and beautiful dresses the girl's hair in a special way. After that the girl goes to each small child or baby in the house, places a hand under each ear and lifts it by the neck. This[3] will make it grow faster. She then runs a short distance toward the east and back again. She runs each morning for three days in order to be strong, supple and energetic.

Let us suppose that all the requirements of the first three days have been met and the taboos have been kept. On the afternoon of the fourth day a man, the father or brother of the girl, digs an immense hole — the one I saw was at least six feet in diameter — in front of the house, and builds a large fire in it. Just before sunset many of the guests assemble. They talk, joke and exchange gossip while the woman who has charge of the corncake prepares to bake it. At Shiprock where I saw the *kinalda'* a neighbor baked the cake; I do not know whether or not she was related to the girl.

She removed the coals and ashes from the hole, then lined it carefully with green corn leaves. She spread the batter on the leaves and covered it with others. Then she piled the hot sand and coals which she had taken out on top; the fire was replenished and made roaring hot and kept up all night. It is said that the batter was formerly made of corn and wheat. The wheat was chewed by the women and the enzymes from the saliva caused the batter to ferment. However this process has now been abandoned.

About nine o'clock many of the guests — those who wished to have a cube of the cake — the medicine-man, and his assistants gathered in the hogan. The medicine-man sat in the southwest corner surrounded by his chorus. The girl sat opposite the door, west of the fire and north of the leader. There was a fire in the small hogan.

The girl's mother placed a ceremonial basket containing water and a small piece of yucca root in front of the girl. Not long after the singing began she squeezed the root and made foamy suds. The girl washed her hair in the soapy water and her mother helped her rinse it. The choristers continued to sing groups of songs the entire night. After each group they rested long enough to smoke a cigarette. Except for the singing there was very little action. The fire which gave off a little fragrant smoke and the crowded condition of the house, as well as the monotony of the songs, seemed — to me — calculated to produce somnolence to a nicety. The girl, however,

[1] FF 446.
[2] Curtis I Apache 46.
[3] Curtis I Navajo 124.

was as wide awake at three in the morning as she had been when the ceremony began. If she had not stayed awake all night bad luck would have overtaken her. If anyone in the hogan had gone to sleep he might have brought misfortune upon her. Twice I innocently came near spoiling things. But just as I was dropping off the first time I was suddenly prodded by a Navajo at my right who said, "Keep awake!" And the second time one at my left called suddenly in my ear "Sing!" Thus was I saved from disgracing myself and the girl. Only of those in the hogan was vigilance required. Many lay in their blankets on the ground outside sleeping until dawn should give the signal for action. The man who leads the singing for *kɪnalda'* is called *doɬgacda*, "he stays awake all night." But only those who had kept the vigil and who had helped sing could expect to be rewarded with a piece of the corncake.

Toward morning the medicine-man painted the girl's face with red paint and daubed white clay *(Ɂɛc)* on the middle of each cheek. The men and boys rubbed the remainder of the powder over their faces to "keep young."

As pre-dawn began to streak the sky there was a bustle of activity. The guests left the hogan and those outside got up. They all stood in knots in sight of the entrance. The woman who attended to the cake made energetic trips back and forth between the cooking shade and the cake. The entire character of the songs changed. For now the singers were singing the songs of Changing Woman, the Dawn songs. After one or two had been sung the curtain of the hogan was torn aside, the girl rushed out and ran to the south about half a mile. As soon as she appeared she was joined by about half a dozen young men who had been standing nearest the door. They raced her. In old days they actually tried her out. If she won she would have great good luck. Nowadays the boys allow the girl to win.

According to Curtis[1] the girl runs to the east followed by many young children. Thereby it is symbolically attested, he says, that she will be a kind mother, whom her children will always follow. I am much inclined to doubt this interpretation. I believe the symbolism has been "read into" the action. Nowadays at least, the race with the boys seems to signify sexual camaraderie rather than to predict the character of motherhood. It is, however, more than possible that various rationalizations are made.

As soon as the contestants had returned with much joking and laughter the corncake was uncovered. Deftly and carefully the woman removed the ashes and sand so that none would adhere to the cake. First she cut a circular piece from the center and cut it in four parts. One of these pieces was given to the chief singer. It is said that there is no particular order of distribution. But when I saw the

[1] Curtis I Navajo 125.

cake cut one of the pieces was handed to the girl. She sought a young sheepish-looking ("ashamed") man in the crowd. Her seeking him and giving him the cake were very ostentatious. Whether it indicated that he had her favor or that she desired his I do not know. All the other visitors received their portions directly from the hands of the cutter. They tasted a little and put the rest away to take home. Then the assemblage broke up just as the sun was rising.

I later heard favorable and adverse criticisms about the corncake when I visited several hogans in the neighborhood. There were very few families which had not been represented at the ceremony and those had obtained some of the cake from their relatives who had been there.

THE WEDDING

When a boy's family thinks it time for him to marry they begin to discuss the matter of selecting a suitable wife for him. If the girl's family made the first advances "it would look as if they wanted to get rid of their daughter and people would laugh." The boy's family consisting of father, mother, mother's brother and perhaps other relatives of the father and mother select his fiancée in family council. It seems that the mother's brother has the deciding vote on the female side, but not on the male:

"If the boy's father is not interested in getting his son married his father's father would take the lead. The father does so more often than the mother's brother but if the father is 'not so bright as the mother,' the mother would ask her brother to negotiate."

Wealth in the woman's family will be an additional recommendation but respectability and honor in the community are far more important. The boy's family will first consider that the girl's family is clean and enterprising. "They wouldn't go where they quarrel or are inhospitable."

After the council has come to an agreement "the boy's father will visit the girl's parents."

"A man sends two relatives to the girl's hogan. When they see soot around the smokehole, or when it is wet around the fireplace they ask if their relative may marry there." I was not able to find out what this means.

The delegates offer ponies and perhaps other gifts which the girl's parents may accept, or they may ask for more. If they reach an agreement the woman's parents say the man and his relatives may come back at a definite time, about ten days hence. Formerly ten horses was the usual gift for a woman in good circumstances, but it may have been as high as twelve, or as low[1] as one or two for poorer families.

If gifts are not given a marriage is not considered legitimate. A

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[1] Cp. FF 446ff.

woman may have a child without a wedding. Technically it would be illegitimate but practically no discrimination would be made against it. A woman might marry after bearing a child or two and her husband would care for her child as his own. If two people go off and live with each other they are not considered married but if a child is born the man may give the woman's family horses and they would sanction the union.

"A woman might marry a poor man whom she loved but her mother wouldn't like it."

But to return to the normal procedure. Both families use the time allotted to prepare for the wedding. The man's family select the horses and other gifts and the woman's relatives prepare the feast. All get their best clothes and ornaments in order.

The wedding is held in the evening. The man's relatives come with the gifts to the woman's hogan. Before entering the hogan or shade which has been built for the new couple some of the gifts will have been turned over to the bride's family. Then one of the male relatives of the bride, her father or maternal uncle leads her to her seat beside her betrothed who has entered the hogan in the usual ritualistic manner. The woman's father has previously placed a small pot of water with a gourd ladle and a basket filled with ceremonial (unflavored) gruel in the hogan. When the relatives of both parties, except the bride's mother — she began to avoid her son-in-law as soon as the first agreement was made — have assembled, the bride's father marks the gruel basket with pollen, drawing a line from the opening in the east[1] across to the west with white pollen and from south to north with yellow. He makes a circle around the basket always working in the same clockwise direction.

The bride dips water from the pot with the gourd ladle and pours it over the groom's hands, then he does the same for her. Next he eats a fingerful of mush from the east side of the basket and his bride imitates him. He repeats the act from the south, west, north and center of the basket and each time she follows his example.

After the couple have eaten all the mush they desire the remainder may be eaten by any of the audience. There is a conflict of evidence as to who receives the basket:

The Franciscans[2] say: "The more conservative opinion assigns the basket to the bride's mother (who of course cannot be present) insomuch as she parts with her own flesh and blood. The other grants it to the bridegroom's parents and by mutual agreement he who drove up the horses always consumed the last portion of the porridge and eventually presents the basket to the boy's parents."

Mary Sandoval: "After the mush has been eaten the basket is given to the groom's family."

[1] FF 448.
[2] FF 448—449.

Allen: "The groom's father or the newly married couple keep the basket."

Sydney: "The man does not stay with the woman long if his family has the basket, but if her family keeps it he will stay long. The marriage basket is turned so he stays long."

The rest of the gifts are presented to the bride's family as soon as the ceremonial eating is finished. Then the general feasting begins and everyone eats as much as he wants and takes sacks of food home with him if there is sufficient. No Navajo would uphold his position in the community who did not provide too much food at a feast. The guests spend the whole night in feasting and the old people give the newlyweds advice as to how to get along well together. The party breaks up at dawn.

The next morning the groom races with his bride; the one who wins will become rich.

"After people have been married two or three days they wash each other's hair in yucca suds. Their parents make them live together even if the woman does not like her husband or if she is ashamed."

The basket ceremony *may* be held for a second marriage if the woman is young, but it is not customary. When a woman marries the second time the gifts are received with little ceremony.

There is no distinction in dress or head-dress between married and unmarried women.

DEATH AND BURIAL

When an individual is very ill he is removed from the hogan to a neighboring shelter or unused hogan where he is dressed in his best clothes and jewelry no matter how much he may be suffering. Several close members of his family and the medicine men stay with him until they see that their efforts are in vain. Then all but one or two leave. It is said that formerly there were twelve mourners[1] but now all are dispensed with except those most necessary to perform the simple rites, usually about four. These are the closest relatives of the deceased who are willing to take a chance at exposing themselves to the evil effects of death.

Mary Sandoval: "A man's father, perhaps his maternal uncle, or his maternal uncle and male cross-cousin *(bɪlnaʾac)* would be the chief mourners. If they could get only one man, a woman — mother, mother's sister, or female cross cousin — would help. The two who aid may not be of the same relationship, *e. g.* two cousins, two maternal uncles or two women. Brothers also may not help." Here again the idea of overdoing doubtless has a limiting effect.

Tuli: "If there are two men of the clan of the dead man they

[1] FF 453.

would carry the body to the grave, if there are no men the women could do it. If there are no clan relatives the man's sister's husband will do it if he is polite. In case all of these are lacking the family may hire some one."

Grover: "One pallbearer would belong to the clan of the deceased, one to the father's or to some other clan."

Alex: "Anyone who is willing will help carry out the corpse."

It is my opinion that if the Navajo could get absolute strangers to perform the burial ceremony they would like it better then exposing their own relatives. Close kin consider it a duty which they must perform for the sake of their relatives but there is nothing about it which may be considered a privilege. Hence it does not matter whether the volunteers are from the paternal or maternal side if the ceremonial requirements have been fulfilled. In former times slaves were required to perform these burial[1] rites, and they were killed at the grave.

It is the duty of those who perform the most intimate rites and thus out of friendship expose themselves to the greatest and most feared power of the Navajo, Death, to protect themselves and others from contamination in any form in which it may exist. Hence men wear only a breechcloth and women nothing but a skirt. The hair is left flowing so that not even a hair-string may be exposed. A woman allows her hair to cover her breasts.

The corpse is washed and dressed by those who volunteer, and left in the hogan or shade where the person died. The helpers then clean the hogan. According to Curtis[2] they use juniper boughs to obliterate all footprints which may have been made by the relatives of the deceased in the hogan in order to conceal from the spirit the direction in which they went in case it should return to harm them. Meanwhile the others have selected a sheltered crevice in a cañon wall or a place where they have dug a grave. They too must be "careful" but the two who touch the corpse are exposed to the greatest danger.

The day after the death the two pall beareres load the possessions of the dead which they have decided to bury with him on his favorite horse. Then they close up the hogan entrance (east), cut a hole out of the north side through which they remove the corpse. They then burn the hogan with all its contents. One of the mourners leads the horse deliberately toward the grave. He is followed by the two bearing the corpse on their shoulders. A fourth mourner warns travelers that they may change their route. He turns his back toward chance wayfarers and faces the funeral procession, meanwhile signaling over his shoulder that there is danger on the trail. All who have anything to do with the mourning keep strict silence.

[1] FF 454.

[2] Vol. I, Navajo p. 80.

The helpers arrange the body in the grave and cover it with earth or roll a stone before the entrance if the tomb be a cave to protect the body from animals. Some valuables may be placed in the grave. For example, fifty dollars in cash[1] was buried with a rich maiden. Then the horse is led near to or over the grave, the valuables on his back: saddle, blankets, etc., as well as any tools which have been used are mutilated or burned; the horse is shot and the mourners return home.

In order to protect themselves the mourners must observe the following[2] rules: They must keep silence.

They must not spit.

They should not turn a stone on its side. If anyone should do so accidentally he should carefully turn it back as it had been.

On the return trip they should skip and hop. Their route should complete a circle to the family hogan, *i. e.* they should return by a different way than they went. They should carefully avoid stepping on brush or cactus.

All these prescriptions are taken to avoid delaying the spirit on its way to the other world. If it were delayed or disturbed it might return to harm the molester.

When the mourners return they bathe carefully. All members of the family who have seen the corpse or in any way been in contact with the dying have meantime fasted in the family hogan. The fasting rule is very rigid, even applying to infants which may not be nursed until the pallbearers return. As soon as they have come back and bathed the family may eat and drink sparingly.

The family mourns for four days beginning with the night on which the death occurred, or if it happened in the daytime, with the first night following. They remain quiet and leave the hogan only when absolutely necessary and then accompanied by the head mourner. A guard keeps the trail between the hogan and the grave open by signaling to passers-by. Early on the morning of the day following the fourth night the mourners bathe again. After the entire family has also bathed there is a short period of ceremonial wailing and the mourning time is past.

The spirit has reached the nether world and will not attempt to revisit the scenes of his former existence unless a living person, by breaking into his grave or deserted hogan (they are sometimes deserted instead of burned) should show him the trail back. In such case he would harm the individual who had disturbed him. But otherwise all are safe as long as the taboos are kept.

As usual the idea of the spirit is much befogged. Apparently the spirit of the dead enters the other world through the reed of emergence, but the ghost *(tcindi)* hovers about the spot which the living being last inhabited.

[1] See p. 148.
[2] FF 454ff.

XIII. FOLKLORE AND BELIEF

No matter what particular phase of culture one chooses to investigate, he picks up a large number of miscellaneous bits of information regarding other phases of the same culture. One learns, perhaps, more ethnology in recording a language than by any other method. In the same way a study of social organization has brought out many statements regarding beliefs and religious practises. It is quite natural that such should be the case since all sides of social life are so closely related. Especially is this to be expected among the Navajo, where belief in magic and fidelity to ritual have such a strong influence on all behavior. Consequently I record in this chapter, isolated fragments of beliefs and customs which require more extended investigation which lack of time and circumstances prevented. I record them as learned, in the hope that may furnish a lead to others or perhaps serve some comparative purpose.

FOLK-LORE

Some folklore has been incidentally included in previous chapters. I shall, however, repeat it here in order to show how stereotyped it may become. For instance, a common result of breaking taboos is to "become crazy and jump into the fire," or "to jump into the fire and become blind." Such is the penalty for: marrying into the same clan or clan-group; not avoiding the mother- or son-in-law, and overdoing (see p. 147).

Age: Old people do not count their age for they might die.

Sun: If one watches the sun, he might see a man in it and die.

Whistling: One may whistle all he wishes in the daytime but he should not whistle at night for that is the time when the "dead are up and about their affairs and they should not be disturbed."

Sterility: There are no songs for barrenness but as long as a woman eats eggs, she should have plenty of children. Pigeon and turkey eggs were eaten before the Navajo knew chickens.

Snakes: Navajo are afraid of snakes and would never kill them because long ago the snake was a man.

It is said that medicine men have an antidote for rattlesnake bite and a chant which goes with it.

Mrs. Bitsi knew a girl who was bitten in the heel by a rattlesnake. She became well. They had no "sing" but found the snake and tore it in pieces.

Dreams: To dream that horses, sheep or cattle die predicts sickness.

The worst dream is that a member of the family died, or that teeth were pulled. Cure: a one-night sing *(xojǫǰi')*.

Little Mexican's wife dreamed she was very ill. She had *hatali* sing *xojǫǰi'* to counteract the effect.

Dreams of snakes are not bad unless the snakes bite.

Dreams have bad effects only when the dreamer does not overcome the evil powers he dreams of.

If you wish a good dream to come true, you may hire a medicine man to sing. But it is not necessary, the dreamer himself may sprinkle meal and wish on it.

Menstrual fluid: "If some of the menstrual fluid[1] were swallowed the victim would have very bad luck. He might break a bone or something equally evil might happen."

Medicine to cure an injury contracted in this way was mixed with the blood of a dog. Some of it was swallowed and the rest was put on the wound outside.

SCRAPS OF MEDICINE LORE

Men may become strong and healthy by subjecting themselves to severe discipline. In winter when the snow is deep, men go out and roll in it, some until they are too fatigued to stagger home. It is a fine thing to roll in the snow until some one has to come and drag one out of it. (Has this any relation to Plains self-torture ?)

One informant tells how his father rolled himself in the snow until he was exhausted. The informant added that as a boy, he himself took just a little roll, then hurried indoors where it was warm. It is the opinion of the old men that the young men are thin and delicate, have coughs and are susceptible to disease because they no longer undergo these hardening processes.

Night Chant *(l'ɛdji)*: If one makes mistakes in learning the Chant or in practising it, he will become paralyzed.

ina'dji is a chant sung for a sprain or a broken bone. The medicine men bandage, but do not really set the bone.

ant'e·c, a medicine to cure cold and fear of ghosts. The cure is rubbing with deer grease, mutton fat and ashes.

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[1] I presume this might happen onl ythrough "witching." But compare p. 133.

itc'ą' hatal, a chant, no longer sung, to cure the effects of clan or clan-group endogamy. The participants in such a marriage wore coyote tails because coyotes marry their brothers and sisters. Then they took an emetic *(idją haze)* and after they had vomited, all bad things would go from them. They continued to take the emetic until no longer able to vomit when they would be purified.

tcícidji, a four-day sing for heart trouble.

War songs were very secret. They were sung only on the warpath and no one but the war-party was allowed to hear and learn them. Anyone was permitted to go to war, but men never went alone and they always took an experienced singer.

Learning medicine: A person who wishes to learn a chant signifies his decision by strewing sand (a special kind probably) in the hogan of the teacher and sleeps on it. Then he rolls pollen in four balls and both teacher and student eat it. After that they may begin the practise. The time of learning depends on the length of the chant but it takes more than a year to learn a five-day chant. They work on it when they have time at night.

Unmarried girls learn songs to cause flocks and herds to increase, or songs to cure bad dreams, which they sing for the benefit of family and friends.

Women may learn and conduct big chants, but there are not many who do so now. A chant sung by a woman is quite as efficacious as one sung by a man.

"Bathing is to wash away evil just as baptism is to wash away 'round things' or sins."

Emetic: Herbs (?) found near a tree which has been struck by lightning are used for an emetic. An emetic must be taken by a singer of *xoxtc'ǫji* who must vomit four times before a ceremony. It is taken also by a singer of: *dɛnɛ'bɛnlidji* (Wind Chant), *na'at'oi bąk'adji* (Male Shooting Chant), *na'at'oi bą'adji* (Female Shooting Chant), *dzılk'idji bąk'adji* (Male Mountain Chant) *dzılk'idji bą'adji* (Female Mountain Chant), *xojoni* (Song of Beauty) and perhaps others.

An emetic was used by the singer of *anądji* (War Dance) at Ganado. But I was told that no one in the Shiprock region knows the emetic for this purpose, hence they do not use it.

Sweatbath: The sweatbath was used in the Fort Defiance and Ganado region but was not so much in evidence at Shiprock, although informants there said it was used.

Kethawns: Matthews[1] gives details as to the making of the Navajo prayer-sticks which unlike the pueblo feathersticks, are kept in bundles.

When a man has learned a chant to the satisfaction of his instructor, the latter makes him a "kethawn encyclopedia." It is a case made of cloth about a yard long in which are arranged in perfect order samples of every kind of kethawn required for the ceremony. If the Chanter forgets a detail of painting or the like he may always consult his kethawn collection and straighten it out. One of these collections was made and buried in Cañon de Chelley by one of Blue Eyes' (Gen. II A, 1) close relatives, but no one ever looked for it since.

Blue Eyes says: "Kethawns are like writing a note to the gods who would not be impolite enough to refuse an invitation to come."

New diseases: Men have often tried to make up new songs for white men's diseases — tuberculosis, trachoma, syphilis, measles, chickenpox, smallpox, influenza, etc. — but they acknowledge all attempts to be failures.

During an epidemic men sing but there is no concerted action.

Albert's grandmother says the Navajo nurse their sick even if the disease is contagious. Father Berard says they deserted the influenza patients in 1918.

The influenza epidemic of 1918 was caused by the eclipse of the sun of June 8.

Sacred names: Changing Woman gave to each domesticated animal a sacred name which, if in the possession of anyone, enables him, with cautious use, to cause his flocks, herds and hard goods to increase. These names are not the same in the different families which are lucky enough to possess them because no one remembers the "real name" as Changing Woman gave it.

Treatment of corn seed: A small amount of mirage stone *(hanagɛ')* a stratified stalagmite, is ground off and mixed with medicine from the grease bush and sprinkled on the seed while some one sings.

Over-doing: One of the things to be most carefully avoided is overdoing.

Personal names, sacred formulas and names as defined above should not be used too often for each use wears out the power.

A person should not accumulate wealth primarily to *have* it. It is good to be rich that one may give out wealth to avoid evil, that one may have power and influence. But it must be used, not hoarded.

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[1] RBAE 5.

A woman, no matter how swift and skilful, should never finish a blanket no matter how small, on the day she begins it. She should leave a little part over until the next day to finish. To be too eager in accomplishment is to "wear out" skill.

The design on the basket should not be closed, for if it were, the maker might enclose herself and thus lose her sight[1] and mind.

The Song of Blessing *(xojǫǫji)* may be sung by a chanter three times in one month. But if he were invited to sing it a fourth time he should refuse until the next month. After singing the third time, he should himself be sung over, in order to renew his power.

The restrictions upon singing the long chants are even more drastic, a man should not sing one more than three times in one year without renewing his powers.

WITCHCRAFT

Much has been implied and described regarding power for good. Everyone has it in some measure, but there are those who have a great deal. There are too a few individuals who can defy custom and tradition. These people are witches or wizards and are greatly feared. The one thing above all others which defines a witch is trifling with the dead or the possessions of the dead. A grave-robber is without the slightest doubt a witch. One who felt himself able to overcome a spirit would be capable of inflicting any kind of injury upon the living. The attitude toward such persons is a dual one. They may be avoided because feared, or they may be hospitably entertained with the hope of placating them, always however, with a lurking anxiety that their evil powers might be turned against the family.

k'adi'ai's (Gen. I D, 651) mother who is more than eighty years old, is a witch, so acknowledged by all. Mary Sandoval, (Gen. I D, 507) her distant relative, took care of her while she was at Shiprock until her son should take her home. But Mary and the entire family lived under the sword of Damocles. The other people in the neighborhood would have nothing to do with the poor old woman and the duty fell to Mary because she was a distant relative. So much was surreptitiously intimated. But when I would have learned the reasons for accusing her of witchcraft, I was put off with vagaries.

Witches sometimes steal buried property, which is later recognized.

A rich girl of about eighteen died. A man who was not related assisted a relative at the burial. Much property was buried with her, among other things fifty dollars in silver. About a year later, the man became ill, went to a prophet who divined that he had robbed a grave and prescribed the chant for witchcraft. The man denied

[1] Cp. FF 294.

the accusation and went home. But he became worse and feared he would die. Finally, in desperation, he sought another soothsayer who used a different method of divination from the first, but came to the same conclusion. Again the man denied, but as he became worse and worse, he finally confessed that he had stolen the fifty dollars buried with the girl. He made restitution, had the chant sung for him and became well.

The people knew that only two men knew where the money was buried. Of course, the desperate illness of the one — and he not a relative — made them accuse him of the crime.

DIVINATION

Quite accidentally, I discovered the Navajo method of divination and its importance. The Franciscans (pp. 242, 365, 374, 380) make several references to the matter. I have secured a few more details. The ability to predict is born in a person and can therefore not be inherited or transferred. No one knows who is destined for a prophet until the individuals are tried out. The try-outs are somewhat as follows:

"A person who knows how, must 'baptize' the hands of the one who wants to learn with corn pollen. If the hands do not move while he gazes and sings, the baptism is a failure." "Pictures of stars may be put on a person's body to strengthen his vision, if he then fails, it is decided that he may never see signs."

A dog will not bite those who have the gift of prognostication.

When a person is ailing or ill, he consults a diviner who gazes at the sun or stars. After such gazing, he is able to tell which chant the patient should have sung for him.

For example, a prophet gazes at the sun, meanwhile singing, and after a time sees something characteristic of a particular sing, the Night Chant bundle or the *anądji* drum, for instance. He then tells the patient what he saw. The latter pays him a lamb or a dollar and a half to two dollars and engages a chanter.

A young girl was very ill with tuberculosis and her parents consulted a diviner. He gazed steadily at a star and sang. Suddenly, he saw the star open with a blazing hogan in the midst of it and around it. There was no overcoming such an omen and without a vestige of hope the man decreed that the girl would die. In less than a month his prophecy was fulfilled.

If it had been possible for the girl to get well, he would have seen a "white sign come around the hogan like frost." Another sign indicating death would be a "black sign around the hogan in the star."

"In 1914 a man who was gazing saw a black streak around a lung over a star and the woman whose fate he was reading died in about eight days."

BERDACHE

The berdache *(nadlɛ)* is common among the Navajo. There are several mentioned in the genealogies, but I never saw one. Some are medicine men but it does not follow that an individual knows medicine because he is a berdache. I can suggest their character best by giving the descriptions of informants.

1. *nadle tco'* (Ugly Berdache) lived at Tiznasbas with his "grandchildren" (undoubtedly his sister's grandchildren). He has a woman's voice, sits like a woman, tends sheep, does woman's work.

2. *ałoi'* (Weaver), a *kiya'ani* from Chinlee Wash. He weaves, behaves like a woman, dances women's dances, but wears men's clothes and has a man's voice.

3. *nadle*, did woman's work, had woman's voice and beard, wore men's clothes, and knew no medicine.

4. Gen. IX A, 468 was addressed as *cı-da'* (male term) by his sister's sons.

Berdaches are addressed by male or female kin-terms according to the type of clothes they wear.

WHY THE NAVAJO BELIEVE

I have given a few bits of folk-lore, some examples of the application of beliefs and occasionally I have intimated results. Much more can be learned of such matters from a study of the legends and descriptions of chants. A fact which I think cannot be overemphasized is the way in which beliefs dominate the Navajo individual. Time and time again I have visited hogans to find women blackened or smeared with red grease. The interpreter explained, "The old man (or woman) was singing for some reason or other."

In Chaco Cañon near Pueblo Bonito a few Navajo were at home. We learned that the others had taken the sheep to a dipping, but these few had remained behind. There were several sheep in the wash nearby where lightning had struck. One had been killed. The others could not be taken to be dipped until the Song of Beauty had been sung over them. Otherwise they would have infected the entire flock (and the other flocks) with the evil effects of the lightning. The people I saw were awaiting the Chanter.

At another place I was told that an unusual and unrecorded major chant was to be sung. I hastened to ask if I could see the sandpainting.

We came on a Friday to the place where the medicine man had been preparing for the Chant. The interpreter spoke to the chief chanter who was resting and we began, as was the custom, on genealogies. The Navajo like to tell them, they like to talk about clans and the method establishes confidence. After I had the gene-

alogy, the interpreter, who was giving the Chant for his sister, asked permission for me to see a picture. The only thing necessary for refusal was to withhold the time of the painting. The interpreter and I with our combined eloquence and logic argued with the old man for two hours. The circumstance was unusual for the Navajo because they do not generally mind visitors. But it was in an area where missionary influence and rivalry is virulent and where much pressure had been brought to bear in the direction of prohibiting native ceremonies. A sample of the argument: I would see what they did, tell the missionary or official it was superstition and the Navajo would not be allowed to have the ceremony again.

Answer: I would not, I was interested in the picture as art, I had described the sand-paintings to my students without ever having seen one and much wished to see one. I believed there was much beauty being lost by the prohibition of ceremonies and wanted to rescue shreds before they were lost.

Argument continued: I would take photos of the picture.

Answer: I would not do so without permission. I should do exactly as commanded, etc., etc., etc.

After the long "palaver" the women for whom the Chant was being given were consulted and they thought they would rather not run the risk of my presence. Politely and gently I was refused in the following words, "The medicine man would not care if you came but the women would rather not."

I: "But aren't you paying for the ceremony? Why can't *you* decide?"

Interpreter: "Yes, but since it is to cure my sister, I would not do anything she wouldn't like."

Apparently the final word had been spoken. But there was one more, "Will you have a little mutton with us?" It was two o'clock and I accepted the invitation. After dinner at which I was treated with the utmost kindness and consideration a few words passed between the medicine-man, the woman and the interpreter as we gathered up our things to leave. The result was that the interpreter informed me that I might come Tuesday at a definite time and see the picture for twenty minutes when the other women were allowed in the hogan.

I record this experience in some detail for I think it gives a good idea of the psychology of the Navajo in a community where they have been much (and long) pestered by whites. Because I promised the medicine man not to write up the ceremony and because of my next remarks, I withhold the name of the place and of the actors.

I was told by the whites that the interpreter was "dangerous." I didn't know whether that meant he was a Red, or whether he might rob, assault, or shoot me. Anyway I was anxious to see the painting; I had already engaged the man and decided to see the thing through,

especially as no one gave me any reasonable grounds for his slander. After the negotiations recorded above, the interpreter stayed at his sister's place and promised to interpret for me in two days. At ten o'clock Tuesday morning, we were to set out for the ceremony and were to see the picture at about two in the afternoon. Several days of rain intervened and the interpreter did not appear. On Tuesday, I decided if he did not come by ten-thirty, I would leave. At that time I had packed up ready to leave when a Navajo rode up and delivered a note. It was from the interpreter saying this man would come with me. He was sorry he could not come himself, but the men wanted him to help with the picture. He had instructed this man to help me if I needed it and to point out the road. The man had only one leg, and could speak no English. He was nevertheless, one of the most perfect guides I have ever had. When there was a doubt as to the road, an extended forefinger and a cordial "Au'! (Yes!)" sufficed. It showered while we were at the ceremony and on the way back, we were forced to use chains on the car. Never before or since have they been put on so quickly and efficiently as they were with his help.

We arrived at the place in time and found the picture nearly ready. But just before it was quite finished, a hard shower ruined the portion under the smokehole and it had to be patched up, a proceeding which took an hour and a half longer. Briefly, I saw the painting and the ceremony of curing and returned with the cripple who later rode his horse back to the hogan. He had made the two trips — fifty six miles altogether — for the sake of the interpreter.

I have told this one of many adventures in order to point out how this "dangerous" man handled a difficult and inconvenient situation for which his obligation was not very great. It is only one of many examples where Navajo have shown themselves dependable and above all, efficient.

These narratives show how much time ceremonies demand and how great a hold they have on Navajo thought. I have been asked again and again, "But *why* do they think this magic can save them ? They can easily see it is only superstition."

I answer the question by citing a number of instances and by appending a counter-query.

1. Eclipses portend bad luck. The sun eclipse of June 8, 1918 was followed by the worst epidemic of influenza ever experienced.

That of January 25th, 1925 was followed by a most severe winter during which many cattle were lost and there was much illness.

2. Mistakes made in learning the Night Chant cause one to become paralyzed. Matthews (to go back a long way) learned the Night Chant. Not long afterwards he became paralyzed. The circumstance is easy to understand, for being a white man, he probably did not realize the importance of exact order and care as he should have.

hatali (Gen. I A, 1) became paralyzed while he was learning the Night Chant and had to give it up. He is a respected and powerful Chanter of minor chants, but can never finish learning this major one.

When I suggest that I should like to learn a chant, my white friends say, "But I wouldn't do it for anything. Aren't you afraid you will also be afflicted?"

3. The next two occurrences happened within the same family in less than two years. Sandoval's son of about seventeen was at school and in some way got blood-poisoning, a very severe case. The white doctor did all he could for the boy, but he became steadily worse. Finally when it was decided he could not live more than a few days, his father was notified and took him home, to die as everyone thought. But Sandoval does not let anyone die so simply. A Chant was sung and the boy recovered.

4. Suddenly in the summer of 1925, Mary, Sandoval's daughter and sister of the boy, was taken violently ill. She had a high fever, hemorrhages of the bowels and her life was despaired of. The white doctor was called in and said he could do nothing. Then *hatali* (Gen. I A, 1) was called in to sing *ana·dji* (Chant for diseases contracted while traveling). I saw Mary, as I firmly believed, on her deathbed. She was dressed in her finest clothes and jewelry. Her head rested on a hard high support. The hogan in which she was isolated was full of singers and visitors. It seemed to me that if she did not die of the disease she most certainly would of the cure. Besides the doctor and the medicine man, Father Berard Haile was called to visit her. I left the Shiprock region and never knew what happened afterward, except that Mary recovered. Was the cure due to the white doctor, the Chant, or the priest? There is not the slightest doubt in Sandoval's mind that it was the Chant, and the white doctor would not stand second in his opinion.

5. Grover Cleveland of Ganado was sent home from Albuquerque with hemorrhages. His father's mother's brother *(bi-nali)* sang an Apache song and he got well. Grover paid his uncle a sheep for the service.

Not long ago, Grover had stiffness and burning of arms and legs which became so bad he had to limp and could hardly get around. He went to the Agency doctor who gave him some medicine which did not help at all. He became worse and went to the Mission doctor who also gave him something which likewise did no good. Then he consulted a prophet who said he had been injured by lightning because he had butchered a sheep which had been struck. He recommended the Female Shooting Chant. Grover remembered the occasion when he had butchered such a sheep. He began to get better very soon after the Chant had been sung and in a short time was completely well. He now wears a blue bead on his hat to indicate to snakes, lightning and like offenders, that he has been innoculated against their dangers.

These "proofs" of the efficacy of chants are taken from sophisticated individuals, persons who in many ways may be considered to have adopted white culture. If their faith is so strong — and it will be acknowledged with reason, for all tried our cures first — what is one to expect of the conservative Navajo who has not been influenced by us? Have we proven to them that our cures are better? Not to their satisfaction. Are not such examples sufficient as proofs to the mind which is accustomed to, and wishes to believe?

It may be noted that I did not give any examples of the failure of the Chant. It is only too well known that primitive people do not keep account of negative cases. Neither do Christian Scientists. I never once saw a testimonial from a deceased person! The Navajo do acknowledge that they have no power over new diseases brought by the whites although they have tried to make new chants. However, the cases above show triumph over blood-poisoning, a form of "rheumatism" and what was suspected as typhoid fever. Add to these hundreds of similar experiences which are no less miraculous and repeat the question with modifications: "Why should they *not* believe?" Their arguments are as sound as many vouchsafed among ourselves.

XIV. ASSIMILATION AND RESISTANCE

For a long time there has been a tendency to regard the culture of the Southwest as a modified offshoot of the more complex cultures farther south. Superficially the view is reasonable. The peoples of the Southwest and of Mexico have outstanding common characteristics; architecture, pottery and weaving, for example. But more recent investigations of the buried remains of the Southwest as well as studies of living Indians cause us to qualify emphatically this diffusion theory. Excavations of ruins[1] in New Mexico, Arizona and Utah show the Basket Makers to have had a culture which had closer affinities to the Plateau basket, than to the Mexican pottery, culture although it had also features peculiar to itself. The Athapascan linguistic problem is of course more easily understood from the northwestern angle than from the Mexican. But there seems to be no direct proof that the Navajo are descendants of the earlier prehistoric peoples.

Since no culture touches another without influencing it and being in its turn influenced, we might *a priori* expect to find a cultural amalgamation. Our hypothesis is well founded with respect to the Navajo. Certain phases of culture are common to the living peoples of the entire area. All carried on agriculture with the aid of irrigation. The Apache depended perhaps less on agriculture than the others, but knew the art. All used the same plants and animals for food. Fundamentally the type of dress was the same; the loom was known and used expertly by all except the Apache.

When we consider social organization we find underlying ideas which are essentially the same, some of which have developed in very different ways. Matriliny with sororate, avunculate and levirate are spread over a wider area than the Athapascan and Pueblo tribes we are considering. There are two different developments of the clan, the localized clan without clan possessions, clan heads or religious functions among the Athapascans, and the totem-named, property-possessing clan with religious privileges and taboos among the western pueblos. We should not forget that the eastern pueblos have either a very weakly developed clan or none at all. The Navajo area not only contains the center of extreme clan development but almost embraces it even at the present time. As for prehistoric influence if we accept Kidder's dating of the habitation of Pueblo Bonito[2] (800—1100 A. D.) and his personal opinion that the Navajo are relatively late comers to the Southwest

[1] Kidder, 119ff.
[2] Kidder, p. 129.

(c 1000 A. D.) we have nevertheless a lapping of the two culture periods of at least one hundred years. We know that the large ruins, Pueblo Bonito, Mesa Verde and Aztec made a great impression on the Navajo but whether that effect was caused by the living inhabitants or by the ruins themselves is still doubtful.

The position of woman is quite generally high in the Southwest area but the Navajo woman has the greatest freedom in that there is no activity from which she is barred if she has the required intelligence.

Other characteristics of all the tribes in the area are: notions of individual possession and communal use of land and the products of the soil, type of inheritance, importance of the name and prestige attained through supernatural power, although the type of prestige and of power, as well as the method of acquiring both, differs.

In the realm of religion we find a large variety of detail development — as many as there are tribes — but the outstanding common characteristics are: purification by fasting, bathing, emetic, and continence; meal sprinkling, use of the number four and of color for cardinal points; use of ceremonial bundles, feather-sticks and masks; painting with sand; sympathetic magic; and the performance of miracles. The same plots run through the myths of various tribes although the literary styles are local.

All these elements lend weight to the conclusion that the complex to which each belongs may have had a common root. Some developed in one direction and others in another each according to the tastes and genius of the tribe. The Pueblos developed the feather-stick. The sand-painting, though important, did attained nowhere nearly the artistic perfection of the Navajo. The Navajo development of feather-sticks is quite different although their function is as important in perhaps a different direction.

These examples are sufficient to show that each tribe influenced the other but in which direction we are unable to say since we have evidence of development only, not of origins.

If the pre-Columbian inter-relationship between tribes caused assimilations which are today difficult to untangle, the coming of the white man added tremendously to the tasks of adjustment. The introduction of the horse did not cause a great change in a sedentary people like the Pueblos. It remained as today more or less of a luxury. But to a people like the Athapascans who were accustomed to traveling long distances it very soon became a necessity. Not only did the Spanish bring the horse; they brought also the sheep, goat and cow. These like the horse enriched the life of the Pueblo, but were (and are) by no means, necessary to his subsistence. The Navajo learned quickly to supplement their early food supply with the flesh of domesticated animals. They succeeded in raising flocks on land which hitherto yielded nothing and it was not long before the pastoral life dominated the agricultural. Very much

later — perhaps as late as 1850[1] — the Navajo took over the Spanish dress so that at the present time a Navajo shepherd scene, except in its vastness, does not differ greatly from a Spanish pastoral scene.

With the Apache the matter was different. They had not been as distinctly agricultural as the Navajo[2] and they did not become as pastoral. True they had some cattle, but large herds and flocks are not seen among them as among their Navajo neighbors.

This fact brings us to the question which in my opinion is more productive of results in the Southwest area than in most, namely, the matter of resistance to foreign influences. We know what cultural elements tribes have, whether they are indigenous or adopted. In the main we know the influences to which they have been exposed which left no impression. Why did the Navajo take to the life of the shepherd whereas the Apache did not? There are perhaps various reasons, but one may be suggested. The Athapascan tribes have the custom of destroying the property of a person at his death. If this idea is extended to include live stock, there will of course be no increase in flocks and herds, as the property of each individual dies with him. The Apache seem to have followed this plan most rigidly.

The Navajo, on the other hand, considers the favorite horse as a very personal possession and therefore to be destroyed at death, but the other stock, as well as excess of "hard goods" may be retained and inherited. The Navajo is quite capable of rationalizing his attitude toward the preservation of possessions, especially of introduced property. He might argue that the Navajo did not have cattle and sheep in the old days, hence they are not subject to the ancient laws. This explanation of the Navajo pastoral development seems to me plausible.

The question of resistance hinges upon differing characteristics of tribes in contact. Several such elements found among the Pueblos and not among the Navajo are: clan possessions, clan fetish; clan heads; secret societies; and the burial of the dead in or near the village or house. Another marked distinction is the extreme institutionalizing among the Pueblos of religious observances such as ceremonies and medicine societies with attendant esotericism. With very few exceptions, and those closely related to magic practices rather than to teaching or working in groups, Navajo customs, whether social or religious, are exoteric. Except where they have been strongly influenced by whites the Navajo will teach what they know to those who are gifted — by intelligence or supernatural power.

Although they are reserved they have not (at least so far) developed the extreme opposition to a study of their customs which is

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[1] Cp. Letherman, 292.
[2] Benavides, p. 44.

such an exasperating pattern among the Pueblos. In contrast with the latter, there are very few customs which the Navajo will not divulge after confidence has been established.

Marked differences between the Navajo and Pueblos are; dome-shaped, scattered huts in contrast to terraced villages; style of cooking; coiffure; polygamy with mother-daughter marriage; mother-in-law avoidance.

I have discussed the problem of resistance in another place and shall here merely supplement[1] those remarks. I have previously mentioned the differences in the Pueblo and Navajo use of prayer-sticks. An explanation rooted in the Navajo attitude toward "overdoing" (see p. 147) has occurred to me. The Pueblo makes many and elaborate feather sticks and plants them. They serve their purpose and are left to decay and no more is thought of them. The next time a ceremony is needed any number more may be made. The Navajo makes his prayer-sticks — which by the way rarely have feathers — with infinite attention to ceremonial procedure[2] and uses them as sacrifices and as "invitations to the gods."[3] But, after the god has responded the Navajo gathers up the sticks and preserves them in his ceremonial bundle. The explanation here given seems to me plausible but I do not have it from the Navajo themselves.

A prayerstick made according to the patterns given by the gods and preserved in the kethawn collection belonging to every complete outfit has much power. If a great many were made, it would naturally weaken the power stored in each one, so that Pueblo extravagance would soon wear out the good effects of the objects and no amount of ritual could restore them. The Navajo might regard the Pueblo custom as overdoing. If a prayerstick has been created, functions properly, and calls the attention of the god it must have gained power. Thus it would be tempting the supernatural to leave it where that stored power could be destroyed.

The strongest alien influence at present being exerted on Pueblo and Navajo alike is white influence. It remains to summarize very briefly the effects which whites have had upon the Navajo. One important fact must be borne in mind, that the Navajo population has always been relatively large, and that it is increasing. The size and lack of concentration of the population, as well as the isolation of the land they occupy has kept the Navajo freer than other Indian tribes from white control. On the Navajo Reservation one is surprised to hear the few whites speaking Navajo instead of Navajo speaking English. Generally speaking, we may say that materially they have adopted what we have brought. They buy our dry goods willingly and take eagerly to our food.

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[1] 22nd International Congress of Americanists, Rome, 1926.
[2] RBAE 5: 421. Night Chant 37—40.
[3] Cp. Lumholz pp. 65, 84.

But the spiritual life of the tribe still remains intact. There is no evidence that clan adherence or point of view toward clan or family has altered in any way. Ownership of land, a foreign idea, through allotments and homesteading, is taking hold in some areas. It may be that in several generations inheritance of real estate will change clan ideas, since property, possessions, inheritance and clan are so intimately related. So far such adjustments have not been made.

I have very little reason to believe that the attempts at Christianizing have made any essential difference in belief or behavior. The examples I have cited in Chapter XIII bring out this fact more clearly than any amount of discussion.

If I may be allowed a venture into obvious prophecy I may say that two factors are now at work which will make for a greater and quicker change than any which has hitherto operated. They are the increasing prevalence of the automobile and the discovery of oil on the reservation. Whether gradual adjustments will be made which will allow the Navajo to keep what is good of his own culture while adopting the material aspects of ours, is a matter of conjecture. Judging from precedent in other tribes we should be compelled to predict that the native culture will be killed before its possessors become adjusted. But the size of the tribe and its isolation, (which the coming of the automobile largely eliminates) may suffice to preserve more than we otherwise might dare to hope for.

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The following abbreviations have been used throughout this paper:

AA:	American Anthropologist
Am. Nat.:	American Naturalist
BBAE:	Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology
FF:	Franciscan Fathers
FL:	Folklore
Int. Con. Am.:	International Congress of Americanists
JAFL:	Journal of American Folk-Lore
MAFLS:	Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society
MAM:	Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History
PaAm:	Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History
Proc. U. S. Nat. Mus.:	Proceedings of the U. S. National Museum
RBAE:	Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology
UCal:	University of California Publications in Ethnology and Archaeology.

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APPENDIX

EXPLANATION OF THE GENEALOGIES

The genealogies here reproduced may seem complex to the reader. They do not seem any more complex than they are. When we encounter so many individuals in a population having as many mates as we find among the Navajo some system has to be devised to represent graphically the various matings. We have represented males by circles and females by squares (the Navajo way of differentiating gods and goddesses in the sand-paintings). If each of these circles and squares is read from the center out, with a little concentration one can easily tell the number of the spouse by the aid of dotting, hatching and the like.

The first number is the number under which the description of the individual may be found in the printed data following; the second is the number of the clan as given on pages 11, 12 and 13. For the convenience of the reader I repeat the names and numbers here. For example, Gen. I A, 24-8 means the daughter of 13 and 14 whose name is *ɛstsaniyajɛ*, Little Woman deceased, who belonged to clan *lok'adinɛ*, Reed.

This woman is represented graphically by a square hatched toward the left within a hollow square. Reading from the center this means that her first husband is represented by a similarly hatched circle and he can be found at once as 25-14. With him she had a daughter 25a-8. Later she married 26-28 who is represented by three concentric circles since he had three wives. Again reading from the centre we find two hollow circles which indicates that he had two wives, the mother, 24-28 and the daughter 25a-8, at the same time. The third circle is dotted and the wife may be found as a dotted square, 797-8. In other words the woman, 24-8 had two husbands, the first 25-14, the second 26-28. The man had three wives, 24-8 and her daughter, 25a-8; since they are the same color at the same time, and later 797-8 who is dotted. Thus, by always reading squares or circles from the center out and matching the colors, the various spouses and their order can be readily found.

The following is a key to relationships:

Wavy horizontal lines together with a dark bracket indicate siblings.

Slanting lines indicate affinity.

Broken slanting lines indicate that a girl had a child or children without being married.

Vertical lines indicate parentage.

Two concentric circles having the same color — white, dotted, hatched, etc. — indicate polygamy.

A square inscribed in a circle indicates that the sex of the child is unknown. If a symbol has no number the child is deceased, if it has a hyphen and number, as -8 it means that the child was not given a number in the genealogies but is living and belongs to the clan indicated, in this case to clan 8.

It has not been practicable to give the order of birth of siblings in every case. In some instances the exact order is not known. When known it is shown, as often as possible, by the number in the sibling group. Furthermore, the spacing of the drawing frequently demanded that a younger sibling be drawn before an older.

Large Roman letters in the margins indicate generation and are used where the same genealogy is printed in parts. An attempt has been made to fit the individuals into generation groups. The scheme is naturally somewhat arbitrary since the Navajo marry across generations. Where a man married mother and daughter we had to decide in which generation to place them and the children. Since the children of the mother are considered mother's siblings by the children of the daughter with the same man it would have been logical to place the daughter one generation below the mother. But as this caused great confusion in arranging succeeding generations we decided to keep the daughter in the same generation with her husband (and therefore her mother) and have matched up the parts of the genealogy as nearly as we could in accordance with this scheme. No matter how we arrange it certain discrepancies must appear. When a mother-daughter marriage occurs in one generation, a following generation becomes disarranged in the generation scheme but if such a marriage occurs in two succeeding generations the scheme is doubly complicated. Such inconsistencies must be borne with; we can hardly expect the Navajo to marry according to our scheme. For instance Gen. IX A, 58 is in generation II and in Gen. IX B where his wife's genealogy is given he is in generation IV. This is the result of one or more marriages across generations in preceding generations of his own or of his wife's family and does not prevent the fitting of the various parts (A, B, etc.) of the larger genealogies together. In general, the relationship between the parts may be found by piecing together the charts according to the large generation Roman numerals.

Where such a difference is found as in Gen. I where in Part A, 178 is in generation VI and in Part B in generation III, I suggest that the student match generation VI of Part A with generation III of Part B. I have marked off the generations in this way so as not to put contemporary infants in the same generations with their great-grandparents. The genealogies show that except from an individual viewpoint generation with respect to relative age has no real meaning.

I aimed in printing the list of data to go with the genealogies to indicate the unmarried children who have no numbers with their mothers but when a woman was married more than once the number of small or unmarried children is placed after the father's name.

I wish to express my gratitude to Miss Maria Enderlin of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde personally for her great patience and hearty cooperation in drawing the genealogies.

In spite of the pains we took with the drawings mistakes occur which were not discovered until the genealogies were photographed. A list of the errors follows:

ERRATA

Genealogy, I A: For 58-32 (dotted square for circle in generation V) read 59-32.

Genealogy I B: In generation V, 182-12 should be square and 183-14 should be round.

Son of 184 and 185 should have no clan number as he died unmarried.

No. 242 in generation V should have another circle concentric with the one printed.

Genealogy I C: In generation V read 371-24 for 351-24, son of 363 and 364.

Genealogy I D: In generation IV wife of 321 read 320-12 for ?.

In generation IV, 513d-24 should appear only once instead of twice.

Genealogy I F: In generation III, 806-20 read as a circle instead of a square within a circle.

Genealogy I G: In generation VI, read 998-20 for 998-30. Delete wavy line between 1004 and 1008.

In generation III read 1022-15 for 1022-22.

Genealogy, II A: There should be five children of 16 and 17, one of which, 18, is married.

In generation IV, 99-9 should be square instead of round. Read 119-29 for 119-36.

In generation III extend heavy black line from 144 so as to include deceased sister of the fraternity.

Genealogy II C: In generation IV, 306-32 has one deceased child.

Genealogy II D: In generation IV, 402-9 and 430-1 should be square.

Genealogy III: There should be no wavy line between the children of 11-41 and of 10-15.

48-15, sex unknown, should be a square within a circle.

101 and 103 had one deceased child besides the one indicated.

Genealogy IV: The vertical line should be drawn from the diagonal line connecting 57 and 60 instead of from the circle indicating 57.

Read 78-33, for 78-20.

75-22 should be a circle instead of a square.

Genealogy VI: Son of 11-36 and 20-10 should have a number -36.

Genealogy VII: For children of 33 and 53 read "many" for "manny."

Genealogy VIII: Read 40-17 for 40-47.

Genealogy, IX A: In generation III, read 84-36 for 84-35. Read 607-36 for 607-35, Read 608-36 for 608-35.

In generation IV, 77 should be square and 80 round. Read 90-4 for 90-10. Wavy lines should connect 448, 449, and 450. 501-22 should be a circle.

Daughter of 618 and 644 should have a number -36 since she is still living.

In generation VI, read 649-22 for 649-30. This woman should be in generation V and is a sister of 604.

Genealogy IX B: In generation III, daughter of 340 and 351, read 353-14 for 363-14.

In generation IV, read 57-22 for 57-20. 57 and 58 had five children as in Gen. IX A, only four are drawn here.

146 and 157 have two small daughters. 342-36 should perhaps be dotted.

164-20 and 161-16 occur twice, under both one daughter should be drawn. In the drawings this daughter is indicated only under the pair at the right.

In generation V, read 139-11 for 139-10.

Genealogy IX C: In generation III, read 243-35 for 243-25.

In generation V connect 731, 730 and 714 with wavy lines.

Genealogy X: 5-16 is male and should therefore be drawn as a circle.

32-29 and 33-29 should be indicated by circles.

Genealogy XI: 137-1 occurs in two places, once with hatching toward the left and once white; both should be hatched.

Genealogy XIII: Delete 27a-17. 32-6 should be indicated by a square

THE CLANS.

Clan	Matthews	Franciscans	Reichard
1. *ta'nɛstsa'ni*	Among Scattered (Hills)	Poles strung out at the Water	Hogan on Rock
2. *dzil'ani*	Base of Mountain	Base of Mountain	Mountain makes Corral
3. *xonaya'ani*	Place of walking	People formed of her Back	He walks around
4. *toxandinɛ*	Beside the Water	Water is close by	Near the Water
5. *naxoba'ani*	Brown Streak: horizontal on Ground	Light-colored Soil	Light-colored Soil
6. *hacyą'atso'*	Much Yucca	Where Yucca is strung out	Yucca Fruit is spread out
7. *hoyała'ni*	Many Huts	Many Hogans	Many Huts (from Hopi)
8. *lok'adinɛ*	Reeds	Reed	Reed
9. *bił'ăñĭ*	Folded Arms	Folded Arms	Folded Arms
10. *totso'oni*	Great Water	Big Water	Big Water
11. *tsɛdickijni*	Rocky Pass	Rock Pass	Gap of Rock
12. *hacl'ijni*	Mud	Mud	Mud (Clay)
13. *na'nɛct'ɛji*	Black horizontal Stripe Aliens (Zuñi)	Black across	Zuñi
14. *l'izała'ni*	Many Goats	Many Goats	Many Goats
15. *kinlitci'ini*	Red House (of Stone)	Red House (San Juan)	Red House (Pueblo)
16. *l'astci'*	Red Flat	Red Lefties (Left-handed)	Red Streak under House
17. *tsinadjini*	Black horizontal Forest	Dark Streak of Wood	Black Rock
18. *tsɛ'naxabilni*	Overhanging Rock	Overhanging Ledge of Rock	Rock ready to fall
19. *destci'ini*	Red Streak	Bend of Red Rock	(from White Mt.)
20. *tatci'ini*	Among the Red (Waters or Banks)	Red Soil (Country)	Red Streak

Clan	Matthews	Franciscans	Reichard
20a. *nat'otso tatci'-ini*	—	—	Big Tobacco *tatci'ini*
20b. *bįdınɛ tatci'ini*	—	—	Deer People *tatci'ini*
20c. *yeidınɛ tatci'ini*	—	—	God People *tatci'ini*
20d. *nanɛcteji tatci'ini*	—	—	Zuñi *tatci'ini*
21. *bɪ'ızdaltci'*	—	—	Red Goats
22. *kiya'ani*	High-standing House	Where Houses stand up	Standing House
23. *bɪt'a·ni·*	Brow of Mountain	Leaf (they who passed along side of Cañon)	Base of Mountain
24. *toxɛdlini*	Junction of Rivers	Crossing of Waters (Rivers)	Two Streams meet
25. *nak'aidınɛ*	White Stranger (Mexican)	Mexican	Mexican
26. *tsekehi*	Rocks standing near each other	Twin Rock	Trail in Cañon
27. *nodadınɛ*	Ute	—	Ute
28. *tsınsak'adınɛ*	Lone Tree	Lone Tree	Lone Tree
29. *todɛtci'ini*	Bitter Water	Bitter Water	Bitter Water
30. *bįbɪtodınɛ*	Deer Spring	Deer Water	Deer Spring
31. *k'adınɛ*	Living Arrows	Living Arrows	Arrow People
32. *acįhį*	Salt	Salt	Salt
33. *ma'idɛckijni*	Coyote Pass (Jemez)	Coyote Pass (Jemez)	Jemez
34. *dıbɛłejini*	—	San Felipe	Black Sheep (San Felipe)
35. *todokǫji*	Saline Water	Alkaline Water	Salt Water
36. *tabąxą*	Among the Waters	Edge of Water	Edge of Water
37. *haltso'*	Yellow Bodies	Living in Meadow	Grassy Place
38. *tsɛndjikini*	—	Black House	Black House
39. *ts'ai'ɛsk'ıdni*	Sage-brush Hill	Sage-brushKnolls	Sage-brush Hill
40. *ł'ogi*	Name of old Pueblo	Fluffy or Grass-mat	Yellow Flat (?)
41. *yo'i*	Beads	Bead	Bead
42. *tsɛ'djındi'ai*	Trap-dyke	Malpais Trap-dyke	Malpais Trap-dyke
43. *to'bajna'aj*	Two come for Water	Where two went for Water	Two went for Water
44. *ado'tsosni*	Narrow Gorge	—	Narrow Gorge
45. *azɛtso dınɛ*	—	Big Medicine People	Big Medicine People
46. *cac dınɛ*	—	Bear People	Bear People
47. *taji dınɛ*	—	Turkey People	Turkey People
48. *nadą dınɛ*	—	Corn People	Corn People
49. *k'ai dınɛ*	—	Willow People	Willow People
50. *dildje'*	—	—	Tonto Apache
51. *nalan dınɛ*	—	—	Sioux
51a. *tcıji*	—	—	Geronimo Apache
52. *dzılna'xodılni*	Encircled Mountain	(Extinct)	Sacred Mountain
53. *tsɛbıxo'ya'ani*	—	—	Sand Hogan
54. *djoxona'ai dınɛ*	—	Sun People	Sun People

Clan	Matthews	Franciscans	Reichard
55. *to'łɪtso'oni*	—	—	Yellow Water
56. *maɻto'*	Coyote Spring	—	—
57. *tse'yanaɻtó'ni*	Horizontal Water under Cliffs	—	—
58. *ɻto'tcalsiɻtàya* (extinct)	Water under the "Sitting Frog"(?)	—	—
59. *tse'tlàni*	Bend of Cañon	People at Monocline	—
60. *tqèhogǎnĭ*	—	People of the White Valley	—
61. *t'is jǎbāni*	—	Gray Cottonwood	—
62. *tsendzíłtsoi*	—	Yellow Houses	—
63. *naá'i*	Monocline	—	—
64. *tse'cqáni*	Among the Rocks	—	—

GENEALOGY I A

SHIPROCK

1-8 J. *hatałi*, age 56. From Beautiful Mt.
2-20 F. wife of 1, *atsɛdi'bɪtsi'* (Smith's daughter). From Shiprock.
3-20 M. son of 1 and 2, *baxa'bijɛ* (Gray's father), age 33. Two children deceased, two living.
4-22 F. second wife of 3, *hastin ts'ɪn bɪtsui'* (Mr. Skinny's grand-daughter), age 18.
5-25 M. son of 3 and 6, *bahi* (Gray), age 9.
6-25 F. first wife of 3, *tsala·'nɛz bɪtsi'* (Tall Policeman's daughter), died in 1918 of influenza.
7-22 F. daughter of 3 and 4, *ba'* (Warrior), about one year old.
8-20 F. daughter of 1 and 2, *hacke·'naya bama* (mother of Warrior-runs past-Rock), age 28. Two children.
9-22 M. husband of 8, *kiya'ˀaninɛz* (Tall *kiya'ani*), age 38. Same mother as 4.
10-20 M. son of 8 and 9, *hacke·'niya* (Warrior-catches-up), age 5.
11-20 M. son of 8 and 9, *cki tso'* (Big Boy), age 3.
12-20 F. daughter of 1 and 2, age 19, unmarried. Not very bright.
13-8 F. mother of 1, *ɛstsą łtci* (Red Woman), died 1918, aged 70.
14-24 M. father of 1, died 1915 aged 80. From Red Rock.
15-8 F. daughter of 13 and 14, *ɛstsąya'jɛ* (Little Woman), aged 70.
16-21 M. husband of 15, *dɪnɛ'yajɛ* (Little Navajo), died 1910, aged 78. From Beautiful Mt.
16a-8 F. daughter of 15 and 16, *ɛstsą tso* (Big Woman).
16b-8 F. daughter of 15 and 16, *dahiba'bama* (mother of Warriors-meet) Three small children.
16c-28 M. husband of 16b, same father and mother as 45.
16d-8 F. daughter of 15 and 16, *tcitc'ɪji baja'ad* (Coarse Hair's sister--in-law). Children all small.
16e-28 M. husband of 16d, *tcitc'iji bɪyɛ'* (Coarse Hair's son) or *alts'ihigi* (Shorty).
16f-8 F. daughter of 15 and 16, Shorty's (not 16e) wife. Children small.
16g-29 M. husband of 16f, Shorty. From Hogback.
17-8 M. son of 15 and 16, *hackɪ'naba bijɛ* (father of Scolding-Warrior), aged 41. Lives at Ute Reservation.
18-28. F. wife of 17, *yał bama* (Walker's mother), age 31.
19-28 M. son of 17 and 18, *hackɪ'naba*, (Scolding-Warrior), aged 16. at Ute School at Tuyok.
20-28 M. son of 17 and 18, aged 14. At Ute School.
21-28 M. son of 17 and 18, *yał* (Walker), age 10.
22-28 F. daughter of 17 and 18, *ba'* (Warrior), age 4 or 5.
23-28 baby of 17 and 18, sex and age unknown.
24-8 daughter of 13 and 14, *ɛstsa'niyajɛ*, died in 1918, aged 48.
25-14 M. first husband of 24, *godɪ'n bɪnali*, age 70. Left 24.
25a-8 F. daughter of 24 and 25. When her mother got sick this girl married 26 and they had two children, then 25a died (c 1910).
26-28 M. second husband of 24, *tabąxanɛz bɪyɛ'* (Tall *tabąxą's* son), age 57.
27-8 F. daughter of 24 and 26, *ɛstsąlaba* (Gray Woman), age 36. Two children known.
28-21 M. husband of 27, *hastɪ'n łtsui'* (Mr. Yellow), age 39. From Hogback.
29-8 M. son of 44 and 45, *tizną́sbąs baką* (Circle-of-Cottonwoods' husband), age 33. children unknown.

29a-8 M. son of 25a and 26, *hackeda'naga*, age 22. Children unknown.
29b-36 F. wife of 29a.
29c-8 F. daughter of 25a and 26, *bą*, age 19.
29d-14 M. husband of 29c.
30-14 F. wife of 29, *ɬaiyaj bɪtsi'* (Little Lefty's daughter), age 35. From Tiznasbas.
31-8 M. son of 24 and 26, *ałtseba· bijɛ'* (First-Warrior's father), age 33.
32-8 M. son of 24 and 26, age 31.
33-8 F. daughter of 24 and 26, age 29.
34-8 M. son of 24 and 26, age 27. From near Tiznasbas.
35-8 F. daughter of 24 and 26, *ɛstsa'niyajɛ*, age 25.
36-8 F. daughter of 24 and 26, *sa·ni* (Old Woman), age 23.
37-8 F. daughter of 24 and 26, *ba'* (Warrior), age 21.
38-8 M. son of 24 and 26, *tąbąxą'nɛz bɪnali*, age 19.
39-20 F. first wife of 31, *ałtsaxaba bama* (Mother of Warrior-coming-over). Left husband as soon as daughter was born. From Tiznasbas.
40-20 F. second wife of 31. Children unknown.
41-2 F. wife of 32, Children unknown.
42-16 M. husband of 33.
43-? F. wife of 34.
44-8 F. daughter of 13 and 14, *tcitc'ɪji baja'ad* (Coarse Hair's daughter-in-law), died 1907, aged 35.
45-28 M. second husband of 44, *tcitc'i'ji bɪyɛ'* (Coarse Hair's son), age 54. After 44 died, 45 married 16a and had eight children.
47-8 F. daughter of 44 and 45, deceased.
48-8 M. son of 44 and 45.
48a-8 M. son of 45 and 16a, *tcitc'iji bɪnali* (Coarse Hair's grandson).
45 and 16a had four sons and three daughters unmarried.
49-8 F. daughter of 45 and 16a, *ba'*.
50-36 M. husband of 49.
51-24 M. brother of 14, *hasti'n bi'stɛhazką* Mr. Adobe-with-a-Hat), died 1915 aged 60—70.
52-1 F. wife of 51, *ɬ'astciyajɛ bɪtsi'*. From Beautiful Mt.
53-1 M. son of 51 and 52, Mike.
54-7 F. wife of 53, has at least one son. From Beautiful Mt.
55-24 M. brother of 14, *ɬ'ayajɛ* (Little Lefty).
56-2 F. first wife of 55.
57-2 F. daughter of 55 and 56.
58-32 M. husband of 57. From Tiznasbas.
59-32 F. second wife of 55, *ɬaiyajɛ bɛ'ɛstsą* (Little Lefty's wife).
60-32 F. daughter of 55 and 59, Ben *ba'ad* (Ben's wife).
61-8 M. husband of 60, Ben. From Beautiful Mt.
62-32 M. son of 60 and 61, *beyajɛ* (Little Ben).
63-12 F. wife of 62, Ben *baja'ad* (Ben's daughter-in-law).
64-32 M. son of 55 and 59 *ɬ'aiyajɛ bɪyɛ'* (Little Lefty's son).
65-12 F. wife of 64, daughter of Gen. I C, 301.
66-32 M. son of 55 and 59, *hatali tso'* (Big Medicine Man).
67-20 F. wife of 66. From Red Rock.
68-32 M. son of 55 and 59, *lok'aidjuk'ani bɪyɛ'* (son of man from Lukachukai).
69-36 F. wife of 68. One small son.
70-32 M. son of 55 and 59 *hastin tso' badąni*.
71-15 F. wife of 70, *hasti'n tso' bɪtsi'*. One small child. From Red Rock.
72-20 M. father of 14.
73-20 M. brother of 72.
74-20 M. brother of 72.
75-20 M. brother of 72.
76-? M. son of 75, *bilɨdalkɪji bɪyɛ'* (Spotted Horse's Son).
77-24 F. mother of 14, *ɛstsą tco'* (Ugly Woman). From Red Rock.
516-24 M. brother of 77, *kɛcgoli* (Bad Hoof).

518-20 F. wife of 78, mother of Sandoval (Gen. I D, 500).
77 had three other siblings but 1 does not know them.
78b-8 M. brother of 13, *na'ałai'* (Skinner).
79-25 F. second wife of 78b, *gabıjin bıtsi'* (Cactus' son). From near Beautiful Mt.
80-25 M. son of 78b and 79.
81-32 F. wife of 80. Many children, none known.
82-8 M. brother of 13, *dayałtci'* (Red Moustache).
83-20 F. wife of 82 *adakai bıtsi'* (Gambler's daughter). From near Ft. Defiance.
84-20 F. daughter of 82 and 83.
85-34 M. husband of 84. From near Ft. Defiance.
86-8 F. sister of 13, unknown.
87-32 M. father of 13, *dıbɛ' bıtsi łayai'* (White-haired Sheep). From Beautiful Mt.
88-8 F. mother of 13.
88a-? M. father of 72.
88b-8 F. mother of 72.
89-2 M. father of 87. From Tohatci.
90-32 M. brother of 87, *ya'naisxın* (Yana he killed).
91-24 F. wife of 90. From near Beautiful Mt.
92-24 M. son of 90 and 91, *hasti'n łtci'* (Mr. Red).
93-? F. wife of 92.
94-24 F. daughter of 90 and 91, *ya'naisxın bıtsi'*.
95-? M. husband of 94.
96-32 M. brother of 87, *dana'yiziyajɛ* (Little Pouch).
97-36 F. wife of 96. From Beautiful Mt.
98-36 M. son of 96 and 97, *bijiłabai'* (Gray Horse).
99-7 F. first wife of 98. From Beautiful Mt.
100-20 F. second wife of 98. From Beautiful Mt.
101-32 F. sister of 87.
102-4 M. husband of 101, *ado'yala*. One informant gives this man's clan as 4 and another gives it as 8.
103-32 M. son of 101 and 102, *bıda'yałatsui'* (Yellow Moustache).
104-1 F. wife of 103. From Beautiful Mt.
105-1 F. daughter of 103 and 104.
106-32 M. husband of 105, From Beautiful Mt.
107-1 F. daughter of 103 and 104, *ɛstsą jin* (Black Woman).
108-8 M. husband of 107, *hastin bai'*. From *toxa'adlin*.
109-1 M. son of 103 and 104.
110-7 F. wife of 109. From Beautiful Mt.
111-7 F. daughter of 109 and 110.
112-? M. husband of 111, unknown.
113-32 M. son of 101 and 102 *bına'łabai* (Gray Eyes).
114-24 F. wife of 113. From Hogback. Two sons.
115-24 M. son of 113 and 114.
116-18 F. wife of 115. From Hogback.
117-32 M. son of 101 and 102.
118-16 F. wife of 117. From *toxa'adlin*.
119-32 F. daughter of 101 and 102.
120-19 M. first husband of 119, *bowu'cgijıni* (Lost Tooth).
55-24 M. second husband of 119, *łaiyajɛ* (Little Lefty). From Red Rock. 119 was 55's third wife, see also 56 and 59.
122-32 F. mother of 87 unknown.
123-8 F. sister of 88, *ɛstsą doxa'ałai* (Quiet Woman).
124-32 M. husband of 123. From Beautiful Mt.
125-8 F. daughter of 123 and 124.
126-24 M. husband of 125.
127-8 F. daughter of 123 and 124.

128-21 M. husband of 127.
129-8 F. sister of 88, *ala'ba'* (Warrior-went-farthest).
130-21 M. husband of 129.
61-8 M. son of 129 and 130, Ben.
133-8 M. brother of 88, *hasti'n bɛɣa'ani.*
134-24 F. wife of 133.
135-24 F. daughter of 133 and 134.
136-25 M. husband of 135. Both captured by Mexicans when very young and married in Mexico. They did not know their clans and found out that they belonged to the same clan-group after they came back long after they were married.
137-8 M. brother of 88, *bɪlį bɪtsiyałaɣai'* (Horse-with-a-white-Mane).
138-20 F. first wife of 137. From Beautiful Mt.
139-20 M. son of 137 and 138, Jim.
140-25 F. wife of 139. From Farmington.
141-20 F. daughter of 137 and 138.
142-12 M. husband of 141. From Beautiful Mt.
143-20 F. second wife of 137, daughter of 138 and 148.
144-20 M. son of 137 and 143, *gali'ta.*
145-? F. wife of 144 unknown.
146-20 M. son of 137 and 143, *biyo'łɪkɪji* (Spotted Beads).
147-24 F. wife of 146.
148-24 M. first husband of 138. From Chaco Cañon.
401-1 M. *tuli tso'*, age 33.
402-13 F. wife of 401, Emma *tso'*, age 33.
403-13 F. daughter of 401 and 402, Mary, Louise *tso'*, age four years.
404-13 M. son of 401 and 402, Harold *tso'*, age 1.
405-1 M. brother of 401, age 36.
406-9 F. wife of 405, *tsiba'ani bɪtsi'*, age 30.
407-9 F. daughter of 405 ad 406, *hazba'* (Warband-came-over-Hill), age 16.
408-9 F. daughter of 405 and 406, *ltci'i* (Reddy), age 14.
409-9 M. son of 405 and 406, Franklin, age 9.
410-9 M. son of 405 and 406, *ki'tsosi* (Slim Boy), age 6.
411-1 F. sister of 401, Mike's wife, age 30. From Chinlee Wash.
412-14 M. husband of 411, *na'dołɪc* (Blue Eyes), or Mike, age 40—50.
413-1 F. daughter of 411 and 412, *wɛłbai'* (Little gray Girl), age 12.
414-1 F. daughter of 411 and 412, *sa'ni* (Old Woman), age 7.
415-1 M. son of 411 and 412, age 2.
416-1 F. sister of 401, Nita Woody, age 27.
178-20 M. husband of 416, Peter Woody, age 30.
418-1 M. brother of 401, *hasti'nɛz*, age 24.
419-9 F. wife of 418, age 24. Same father and mother as 406. Lives at Chinlee Wash.
420-9 F. daughter of 418 and 419, infant.
421-1 M. brother of 401, *nɛłbai'* (Gray Boy). Died in 1922 at Ft. Defiance hospital of tuberculosis following pneumonia, aged 18.
422-1 F. sister of 401, *adɛ·ɛts'osi* (Slim Girl), age 15.
423-1 M. brother of 401, Wilson *tso'*, age 12.
424-1 F. mother of 401, *tsɪntsankadɪnɛ bɛ'ɛstsą* age 55. Lives at Chinlee Wash.
425-1 M. son of 437 and 441, *hasti'nɛz*, age 50. Lives at Black Mt.
426-17 F. wife of 425, age 40. From Black Mt.
427-17 F. daughter of 425 and 426, age 20. From Black Mt.
428-17 M. son of 425 and 426, age 17 or 18.
429-1 M. son of 437 and 441, *dɪnɛ'ya'jɛ* (Little Navajo). Died in 1918 of influenza, aged about 45.
430-9 F. wife of 429, age 30. Same mother and father as 406 and 419.
431-9 M. son of 429 and 430, age 12.
432-9 M. son of 429 and 430, age 9. In school at Shiprock.
433-1 F. daughter of 437 and 441, *dɛstci'ini bɛstsą*, age about 36.

434-19 M. husband of 433, *destci'ini*, age 40. Lives in Chinlee Wash.
435-1 F. daughter of 433 and 434, age 17.
436-32 M. husband of 436, *baxajan bit'a'a* (Happy Man's Nephew), age 27.
436a-F. daughter of 433 and 434, *ade'yajɛ'* (Little Girl), age 12.
436b-1 M. son of 433 and 434, age 5.
437-28 M. father of 401, age about 80. Lives at Chinlee Wash.
439-28 F. mother of 437, *estsą tsasaka'dınɛ*, age 80—90. From Chinlee Wash.
441-1 F. mother of 424, died 1918, aged about 75.
441a-1 F. daughter of sister of 441, age 40—45.
441b-? M. husband of 441a unknown.
441c-1 M. son of 441a and 441b, Rufus. At Shiprock School.
441d-1 M. son of sister of 441, Ralph, age 35. Lives at Ft. Defiance.
443-13 F. mother of 402, age 45. Lives at Chaco Cañon. Has three grown daughters and one son at least.
444-29 M. father of 402, *hastin tsɛ'badjał al* (Mr. Man-has-Ears), age 75.

GENEALOGY I B

Informant: *hatali* Gen. I A, 1.
Interpreter; Allen

149-20 M. brother of 2, deceased infant.
150-20 M. brother of 3, deceased infant. This child and 149 died while the parents were visiting the Jicarilla Apache.
151-20 F. sister of 2, deceased infant.
152-20 F. sister of 2, deceased infant. 151 and 152 died in the same season of "choking in the throat" about 1890.
153-20 F. sister of 2, *ba'*.
154-32 M. husband of 153, *bilɪyanisxɪn bɪyɛ* (Son of He-killed-an-American) had also nickname *ma'ideskijni*. His family was from the Hopi, but when a boy he said he belonged to Jemez and so got this nickname. From Tiznasbas.
155-35 F. second wife of 154. Two daughters, one son.
156-6 F. third wife of 154.
157-20 M. brother of 2, *doxałdai'tsosi* (Silent Slim).
158-28 F. first wife of 157, deceased. One small daughter.
159-25 F. second wife of 157.
160-15 M. second husband of 159.
161-12 M. father of 2, second husband of 162, *atsidi'* (Smith). Died near the mouth of Chaco Cañon. From near Beautiful Mt.
162-20 F. first wife of 161.
163-20 daughter of 161 and 162, *hɪkɪ'niba* (Going-after-a-Warrior). Five children.
164-32 M. husband of 163, *hasti'n łɪtsoi'* (Mr. Yellow). From Ft. Apache. Lived with 163 and 165 at the same time.
165-20 F. daughter of 161 and 162, *atsɪdi bɪtsi'*. Six children.
167-20 F. daughter of 161 and 162, *yɪ'łnaba·* (Warband-went-around). deceased.
168-1 M. husband of 167, *dayałɪtsui' bɪyɛ* (Yellow Moustache's son). From Beautiful Mt.
169-20 M. son of 161 and 162, *bilįślini* (Spotted Horse). Married once children unknown. From Huerfano Mt.
170-32 F. wife of 169. From Huerfano Mt.
171-20 M. son of 161 and 162, *bɛtsą nezi* (Mule).
172-7 F. first wife of 171, *bilįlɪjɪni bɪtsi'* (Black Horse's daughter). Five children.
173-22 F. second wife of 171, *hastin tsɪni bɪtsui'* (Mr. Timber's granddaughter). Two daughters.
174-20 F. daughter of 161 and 162, *nakaiyajɛ ba'ad* (Little Mexican's wife). Many children.
175-25 M. husband of 174, *nak'aiyaje* (Little Mexican).
176-20 F. daughter of 161 and 162, deceased infant.
177-20 F. daughter of 163 and 164, Ruth Woody, Fritz's wife.
177a-? M. husband of 177, unknown.
178-20 M. son of 164 and 165, Peter Woody.
179-7 F. daughter of 171 and 172, *axidiba·* (Two-Warbands-met). One deceased child.
180-15 M. husband of 179. From Lukachukai.
181-30 M. first husband of 162, *hasti'n bįbito'dɪnɛ*. From Beautiful Mt. One child living.
182-12 F. sister of 161, *hastin dil ba'ad* (Mr. Big his wife).

183-14 M. husband of 182, *hastin dil* (Big). From Hopi.
184-12 M. son of 183 and 182, *hastin dil bɪγɛ*. (Mr. Big's son).
185-24 F. second wife of 184, *hasti'n nɛz bɪtsi'* (Mr. Tall's daughter). One daughter married, one unmarried, both deceased.
186-29 F. first wife of 184. One son, deceased.
187-24 F. daughter of 184 and 185, deceased. One small child deceased, three living cared for by mother of 187.
188-32 M. husband of 187, *nłai'* (Lefty).
189-12 F. daughter of 182 and 183, *hastin di'l bɪtsi'*. (Mr. Big's daughter). Had three children, two died. She left her husband and lived without a man until her death.
190-24 M. husband of 189, *hastin bɪnałabai bɪγɛ*. From Hogback.
191-12 F. daughter of 189 and 190.
192-20 M. husband of 191, *ɛstsaiłe biyajɛ* (Laughing Woman's son). From Chaco Cañon. Children all small.
193-12 M. brother of 161, Charley.
194-1 F. wife of 193, Charley's wife. From near Kirkland.
195-1 F. daughter of 193 and 194.
196-16 M. first husband of 195, *bidja'to·lintγɛli* (Big Earring). From Chaco.
197-20 M. second husband of 195, *tc'acijąhini bɪγɛ* (Bent Hat's son). From Carrizo.
198-1 M. son of 195 and 197, *t'a'alya* (Ready Made).
199-20 M. third husband of 195, *tsala'watsosi* (Slim Policeman). From Hopi.
200-1 F. daughter of 195 and 199, *dlɪnɪzba·* (*dlin*-has-been-to-War). Married a number of times, husbands and children unknown.
201-29 M. husband of 200 and 202, *todɛtci'ininɛz*. From near Kirkland.
202-1 F. daughter of 195 and 199, *yadi'ba·* (Warband-escaped). Children and husbands unknown except for 201.
203-1 M. son of 195 and 199.
204-13 F. wife of 203, *hasti'n bɛ'kaci bɪtsi'* (Mr. Cow's daughter).
205-1 M. son of 195 and 199, Slim Policeman's son.
207-1 F. daughter of 195 and 199 unknown.
208-12 F. sister of 161, *ɛstsą dɛdjol* (Round Woman).
209-14 M. first husband of 208, *hastin bada'γai* (Mr. Moustache). From Tiznasbas.
210-12 F. daughter of 208 and 209, *halin baja'ad*. Five children.
211-28 M. husband of 210, *halin bɪγɛ*. From near Carrizo.
212-12 M. son of 210 and 211.
213-21 F. wife of 212, *hastin t'ai bɪtsi'* (Mr. Left Hand's daughter). Five children.
214-12 F. daughter of 208 and 209, *ałtc'a'ba·*. Six children.
215-20 M. husband of 208 and 214, *do'xałtai'*. Same father and mother as 199.
216-12 M. son of 214 and 215, *hack'ɪłtsui'* (Yellow Boy).
217-1 F. wife of 216, *dɪnɛyɪsxɪn bɪtsi'* (Navajo-Killer's daughter). From West Water, northeast of Shiprock, at the border of the Reservation.
218-12 M. son of 214 and 215, *do'xałtai' bɪγɛ*.
219-1 F. wife of 218. Same father and mother as 217.
215-20 M. second husband of 208. Had mother and daughter at the same time.
220-12 M. son of 208 and 215, *ajo'ni* (Pretty), deceased. Two children, one deceased.
221-24 F. wife of 220, *wełbai'*. Two children.
222-24 M. son of 220 and 221, unmarried.
223-12 M. son of 208 and 215, a deaf and dumb child died in 1917 aged 12 or 13.
224-12 F. daughter of 208 and 215, *da'iba'* (Warband-never-returned). Three children.

225-25 M. first husband of 224, *hatałiyajɛ*. From southeast of Beautiful Mt.
226-24 M. second husband of 224, Happy Jack. From West Water.
227-12 F. daughter of 224 and 226, Happy Jack's daughter. Small children.
228-32 M. husband of 227, Ben *bɪyɛ* (Ben's Son).
229-12 M. brother of 161, *hastí'n hacł'ɪ'jni*. Five children.
230-32 F. wife of 229, *ɛstsą dohalya'n* (Foolish Woman). From near Lukachukai.
231-32 M. son of 229 and 230, *nadlɛ* (Berdache), deceased. Worked like a woman, wore men's clothes, had beard, and voice like a woman's. Knew no medicine.
232-32 M. son of 229 and 230, *aciḥiłbai* (Gray *aciḥi*).
233-28 F. first wife of 232, *tc'itciji bɪtsi'* (Curly Hair's daughter). Four children.
234-24 F. second wife of 232, *tsiłtci' bɪtsi'* (Yellow Hair's daughter). One child. From Tiznasbas.
235-28 F. daughter of 232 and 233, Children small, one deceased.
236-24 M. husband of 235, *na'ltsosnɛz*.
237-32 M. son of 229 and 230 *hasti'n yajɛ*.
238-25 F. wife of 237, *tsalawanɛz bɪtsi'* (Tall Policeman's daughter). Number of children unknown but two boys are known, unmarried.
239-32 M. son of 229 and 230, *hacł'ɪjni bɪyɛ*.
240-28 F. wife of 239, *adɛ'tso'* (Big Girl). Has at least three children.
241-32 F. daughter of 229 and 230, deceased unmarried.
242-12 M. brother of 161, *hastin tołɪjɪnha'lin* (Mr. Black Spring).
243-25 F. first wife of 242, *djiba·* (Warband ?). From near Beautiful Mt.
244-25 F. second wife of 242, daughter of 243 and 245.
245-32 M. first husband of 243, *bɪdjałolɪntyɛl* (Wide Earring).
246-25 M. son of 242 and 243, deceased.
247-? F. wife of 246, unknown.
248-25 F. daughter of 242 and 243, *njoni* (Pretty), deceased.
249-9 M. husband of 248, *hastin totconi* (Mr. Bad Water). Also husband of 260.
250-25 M. son of 248 and 249, deceased.
251-21 F. wife of 250, *nak'aisnɛz bɪtsi'* (Tall Mexican's daughter).
252-25 M. son of 242 and 243, *atsidinɛz ba'adani* (Tall Smith's son-in-law).
253-32 F. wife of 252, *atsidinɛz bɪtsi'*. Eight children.
254-32 M. son of 252 and 253, *atsidinɛz bɪtsoi'*.
255-16 F. wife of 254, *ne'ɛskai' bɪtsi'* (Fat Man's son), Allen's father. Three children.
256-32 F. daughter of 252 and 253, *atsidinɛz bɪtsoi'*. One small child.
257-16 M. husband of 256, *ne'ɛsk'ai* bɪyɛ (Fat Man's son). Same father as Allen (Gen. I E, 701.)
258-25 M. son of 242 and 243, *nak'adjini bɪda' ba'adani* (Black Mexican's nephew's son-in-law).
259-20 F. wife of 258.
260-25 F. daughter of 242 and 243. Two children, one married, wife unknown.
249-9 M. husband of 260.
261-25 M. son of 242 and 243, deceased unmarried.
262-25 M. son of 242 and 244, Stanley.
263-32 F. wife of 262, *k'adi'ai bɪtsi'* (Lone Cedar's daughter).
264-25 F. daughter of 242 and 244.
652-? M. husband of 264, deceased unknown.

GENEALOGY I C

Interpreter; *tuli tso'*.

Informant: *hasti'n tsigi bɪyɛ* or *nɛstc'ɪl*.

301-29 M. said his name was *hasti'n tsiyi bɪyɛ*, but when I enquired for him later by that name no one knew him. Tuli then found out his name was *hasti'n nɛstc'ɪl* (His-Eyes-are-nearly-closed). Was five years old when the Navajo were taken to Ft. Sumner. From Lukachukai.

302-12 F. first wife of 301, *t'ɪzałan bitsi'* (Many Goats' daughter), deceased 1905.

301-1 F. second wife of 301, *ɛstsą'yajɛ* (Little Woman), age 60. From east of Hogback.

304-29 F. mother of 301, *bai'*.

305-32 M. father of 301, *hasti'n tsɪyɛ*, (Mr. Little), deceased 1906, very old. From Tiznasbas.

306-9 M. father of 305, deceased. Home unknown because he moved around much when the Navajo were fighting other Indians. Brothers and sisters of 306 unknown.

308-32 F. mother of 305.

309-29 F. sister of 304, *nɛz* (Tall), deceased.

310-53 M. husband of 309, *bilį'lijɪni* (Black Horse). Chief in the region. When the Agent came to Round Rock the first time, the Indians chased him away. Black Horse had organized the Indians to do this. When the Agent sent the white soldiers to get him, the whites made him chief of the Indians so he would mediate between them and the whites.

311-29 M. son of 309 and 310, *sɪła'nɛz* (Tall Policeman), age 52.

312-25. F. first wife of 311. Three children, unmarried.

313-2 F. second wife of 311. One unmarried daughter.

314-12 M. son of 301 and 302, *hackeltci'* (Red Boy).

315-21 F. wife of 314, *hasti'n t'ai bitsi'* (Lefty's daughter). Six or seven unmarried children.

65-12 F. daughter of 301 and 302, *baiyajɛ*.

64-32 M. husband of 65.

318-12 M. son of 301 and 302, *na't'aiyajɛ* (Little Chief)

319-52 F. wife of 318, *tatci' iniyajɛ bitsi'*. Four children.

320-12 F. daughter of 301 and 302, Annie. Four living children, one dec[illegible]ased.

321-24 M. husband of 320, Hans Sandoval.

322-12 M. son of 301 and 302, Charley, deceased.

323-20 F. wife of 322.

324-28 M. second husband of 323, *bɛ'yaciła'n bɪyɛ* (Many Cattle's so[illegible]n). From Tiznasbas.

325-29 M. son of 304 and 305, *dayała'ni* (Many Whiskers).

326-13 F. first wife of 325. Many children, unknown. From Beautif[illegible]ul Mt.

327-9 F. second wife of 325. From Tiznasbas.

328-9 M. son of 325 and 327, *da'yałan bɪyɛ*.

329-6 F. wife of 328, *not'a bitsi'* (Ute's daughter). From Tiznas[illegible]bas. One infant.

330-9 F. daughter of 325 and 327. Two small children.

331-19 M. husband of 330.

332-29 M. son of 304 and 305, *tsexilį'* (named from the place w[illegible]here his great grandfather lived).

333-25 F. wife of 332, deceased. From near Tiznasbas. Two children.

334-25 M. son of 332 and 333.

335-13 F. wife of 334.

336-29 M. son of 304 and 305, *sɛlau'* (Policeman).
337-25. F. wife of 336. One child.
338-29 F. 301's mother's mother who raised 301, *ɛstsa'na tsiyɪ* (Lazy Woman).
339-19 M. 301's mother's father.
340-29 F. sister of 338, *ɛstsą keyaxai'* (Woman-of-the-Old-Country). Had the same husband as 338. Five children.
341-29 F. daughter of 340 and 339, *ɛstsą k'e* (Clubfoot-Woman).
342-6 M. husband of 341.
343-29 M. son of 341 and 342.
344-32 F. wife of 343.
345-29 M. son of 341 and 342.
346-7 F. wife of 345.
347-29 F. daughter of 340 and 339.
348-36 M. husband of 347, *tabąxanɛz.*
349-29 M. son of 347 and 348.
350-7 F. wife of 349.
351-7 M. son of 349 and 350.
352- ? F. wife of 351.
353-29 M. son of 347 and 348.
354-20 F. wife of 353.
355-29 F. daughter of 347 and 348.
356-20 M. husband of 355.
357-29 M. son of 340 and 339, *hasti'n bɪlɪzdaltci'* (Mr. Red Goats).
358-14 F. wife of 357.
359-14 M. son of 357 and 358.
360-20 F. wife of 359.
361-29 M. son of 340 and 339, *hasti'ndalɪn* (He-acts-like-an-old-Man).
362-2 F. wife of 361.
363-29 M. son of 340 and 339, *da'ɣaxai* (Moustache).
364-24 F. wife of 363.
365-24 F. daughter of 363 and 364, *sa·ni* (Old Woman).
366-32 M. husband of 365.
367-24 F. daughter of 363 and 364.
368-14 M. husband of 367.
369-24 F. daughter of 363 and 364, *ba'sani* (Old *ba*).
370-32 M. husband of 369.
371-24 M. son of 363 and 364, *tsi kǫ* (Short Hair), unmarried.

GENEALOGY I D

Informant: Sandoval
Interpreter: Sydney

500-20 M. Sandoval, age 69.
501-6 F. first wife of 500, *ɛstsą tso* (Big Woman). From Ft. Defiance.
500 left 501 before 502 was born.
502-6 F. daughter of 500 and 501.
503-? M. husband of 502.
504-24 F. second wife of 500, *bɨłanɪzbą'* (Mother-was-at-War-when-carrying-her), age 63. From Carrizo Mt. Sandoval's family lived with her family a long time before they married.
504a-24 M. son of 500 and 504, deceased.
505-24 M. son of 500 and 504, *hastɨ'nyajɛ* (Mr. Little).
506-19 F. wife of 505, *ɛstsą dɛstcɨ'ini*. Six unmarried children. From Mancos region.
506a-24 F. daughter of 500 and 504, deceased.
507-24 F. daughter of 500 and 504, *xɪ'djixabą'*, Mary Philips.
508-33 M. husband of 507, Sydney Philips.
508a-24 F. daughter of 507 and 508, Josephine, or *yitc'ɪ'na·zba'* (Old-Man-brave-in-War).
508b-24 F. daughter of 507 and 508, Ida, or *hidjɨ'nba'* (They-retreat-before-fighting).
508c-24 F. daughter of 507 and 508, Lucy, or *ta'dzolzba'* (All-run-from-Enemy).
508d-24 M. son of 507 and 508, Wilson, or *hacke'ldaiyaga'* (Warriors-retreat).
508e-24 M. son of 507 and 508, Abe.
321-24 M. son of 500 and 504, Hans Sandoval, *nadɛlniya'* (Chief-comes-with-him). Four children living, one deceased.
320-12 F. wife of 321, Annie.
511-24 M. son of 500 and 504, Sanderson.
512-24 M. son of 500 and 504, John.
513-28 F. wife of 512. Three children living, one deceased.
513a-24 M. son of 500 and 504, deceased.
513b-24 M. son of 500 and 504, deceased.
513c-24 F. daughter of 500 and 504, deceased.
513d-24 M. son of 500 and 504,, deceased.
514-24 M. son of 500 and 504, *danɛltsazi*.
515-24 M. son of 500 and 504, Joe, age 17 or 18.
516-30 M. father of 500, *bɨbɪtodɪnɛ hastɨ'n*. From near Mancos Creek.
517-20 F. first wife of 516, *nadlɨ'nolɨ* (Water-curves-around).
517-20 F. daughter of 516 and 517, *djakɨyaji*.
517b-1 M. husband of 517a, *bɨlɨdaltsui* (Yellow Horse).
518-20 F. second wife of 516, *dabɪnaihisna'* (Mother-was-at-War-with-the-Hopi). Three children married, three died small.
519-20 M. brother of 517, *hacke'idɨ'ya'* (He-went-with-the-Warriors).
519a-24 F. wife of 519, *ɛstsą tco'* (Homely Woman).
519b-24 M. son of 519 and 519a, *hastin bit'ini'ini* (Mr. Taller-than-a-Man).
519c-7 F. wife of 519b, *ɛstsą łtsui* (Yellow Woman). Four children living, two deceased.
519d-7 F. daughter of 519b and 519c, *ɛstsą yajɛ* (Little Woman). Eight children living, one deceased.
519e-7 M. son of 519b and 519c, *nat'aiłsazi* (He-stands-to-make-a-Speech). He is a crippled medicine-man.

519f-7 F. daughter of 519b and 519c, *ł'eł* (Make-Fire-with-a-Drill).
519g-7 F. daughter of 519b and 519c, *bɨłi'* (Sleepiness).
519i-21 M. husband of 519d, *dɪnɛ'yajɛ* (Small Navajo). From Chinlee.
519j-7 F. daughter of 519d and 519i, *iba'* (Went-to-War).
519k-7 F. daughter of 519d and 519i, *tc'a'nba'* (Warband-comes-from-behind).
519l-7 M. son of 519d and 519i, *ki·'*.
519m-7 M. son of 519d and 519i, *hackedjɪnilɣot* (Warrior-stands-before-him).
519n-7 M. son of 519d and 519i, *na'iji'ni*.
519o-7 M. son of 519d and 519i, *tci'*.
519p-7 F. daughter of 519d and 519i.
519q-7 F. daughter of 519d and 519i, twin to 519p.
520-20 F. sister of 517, *bahandjita'*.
521-30 M. husband of 520 and 524, *ahɪnłba bɨjɛ'* (Father of Warband-catches-up).
522-20 F. mother of 517, *bo'osdɛzba'* (Warband-left-behind). Was born at *dɛ'yadilini*, South of Carrizo, taught Sandoval the origin story.
523-20 F. sister of 522, *hackɛ'neya' bɨtco'* (Maternal grandmother of Warrior-came).
524-20 F. daughter of 523, *ɛstsqyajɛ* (Little Woman). 521 had this woman and 520 at the same time.
525-20 M. brother of 500, *nat'aholɛł* (He-will-be-Chief).
526-25 F. wife of 525, *holya'n bɨtsi'*.
527-25 M. son of 525 and 526, *hackɛyinɛlwat* (Warrior-runs-in).
528-32 F. wife of 527.
529-25 M. son of 525 and 526, *hackeyiłtci'nat'aj* (Red- Warrior-comes-home).
530-12 F. wife of 529.
531-25 M. son of 525 and 526, deceased.
532-25 M. son of 525 and 526, deceased.
533-20 M. brother of 500, *hackɛ'naxolɛ'* (Acting-as-Warrior).
534-9 F. first wife of 533, *ɛstsq'nɛz*.
535-9 F. second wife of 533, *inazba·' bama* (Mother of Warrior-went-around). Same father and mother as 534.
536-9 M. son of 533 and 534. deceased.
537- ? F. wife of 536.
538-9 F. daughter of 533 and 534, *axɪnłba'* (Warband-caught-up).
539-9 F. daughter of 533 and 534, *yodɛzba'* (Warband-going-to-War)
540-9 F. daughter of 533 and 534, *tc'ɪnba'* (Warband-comes-from-behind).
541-9 M. son of 533 and 534, small.
546-9 M. son of 533 and 534, small.
547-9 M. son of 533 and 534, *naskai'*, drowned in 1923.
548-9 F. daughter of 533 and 535, *inazba'*. Two children unknown.
549-5 M. husband of 548. *nak'ait'ani bɪɣɛ'* (Son of Mexican-Chief). From *tełsaxa·d*, northeast of Farmington.
550-9 M. son of 533 and 535, *daxaɣai'* (Moustache).
551-9 M. son of 533 and 535, *nat'a* (Chief). At school in Shiprock.
552-9 M. son of 533 and 535, small.
553-30 F. mother of 516, *gądinihi'*.
554-9 M. father of 516, *cɪɣeła'ni* (Many Boys).
555-35 M. first husband of 522, *hackɛtsązełe* (Warrior-lassooed-a-Rib).
556-25 M. second husband of 522, *hasti'n sati'ni bɪɣɛ'* (Mr. Lying-Down's son).
557-12 M. third husband of 522, *bɨłɨdalkɨji* (Pinto Horse), and *bailinkojɛ*. Two names given.
558-20c M. father of 522, *hackɛ'ɛnaba·'* (Warband-going-to-War). Knew many chants.
559-Hopi F. mother of 522, *kintsą*. From a pueblo (supposedly Hopi), captured by a Ute and sold to a Navajo, *hackɛ'dɛ'zɪni* (Standing Warrior) by name.
560-Hopi F. mother of 559, *ɛstsą nat'a'* (Woman-Chief). Was "boss" of all the people, one of five "bosses."

Informant: *k'adi'ai's* mother.

Interpreter: Mary Sandoval.

651-28 F. *k'adi'ai's* mother. Was married and had a boy when the Navajo went to Ft. Sumner, age about 86.
652-2 M. first husband of 651, *hasti'n łtsui* (Mr. Yellow). From near Ft. Defiance.
653-28 M. son of 651 and 652, *k'ad'iai*, age 72.
654-32 F. first wife of 653, *na'dlıcbą'*. Two children living, two deceased, none married. From Tiznasbas.
655-32 F. second wife of 653, *ka'di'ai's* wife. Same father and mother as 654. Two children living, five deceased.
656-32 F. daughter of 653 and 655, *dɛ·d* (Girl), age 7. Two children living, one deceased.
656a-14 M. husband of 656.
657-32 F. daughter of 653 and 655, *ɛstsą tsosi'* (Slender Woman). Three children.
658-25 M. husband of 657, Standard Charley.
659-24 M. second of 651, *hackɛdjıni'a'* (Scold-and-come-to-me?), or *hastin biyıl.*
660-28 M. son of 651 and 659, *hackɛdjıni'ya bıyɛ'* (Son of Warrior-came).
661-32 F. first wife of 660. Same father and mother as 655.
662-14 F. second wife of 660, *bıganıɜxin bıtsi'*. Six children.
663-28 F. daughter of 651 and 659, *dą'aba'* (Warbands-meet).
664-32 M. husband of 663, *hasti'nyajɛ.* His mother and the mother of 654 had the same mother and father.
665-28 M. son of 663 and 664, *nat'aiyıłilawał.*
666-25 F. first wife of 665. Three unmarried children.
667-36 F. second wife of 665.
668-28 M. son of 663 and 664, *hacki''itsisi'*.
669-25 F. wife of 668. Same mother as 673.
670-28 M. son of 663 and 664, *dınɛnɛz*, deceased. One small son.
671-20 F. wife of 670, *ɛłna'ba'* (Warbands-pass).
672-28 F. daughter of 663 and 664, *dzanłbai'* (Gray *dzan*). Was ill so gave 674, her twin, to 673, but stayed with him.
673-25 M. husband of 672, *nałwu'di bıyɛ* (Son of He-ran-back). Committed suicide in 1923. Same mother as 669.
674-28 F. daughter of 663 and 664, *dzanłtci'* (Red *dzan*), twin of 672. Died at birth of first child.
675-6 M. husband of 674, *hasti'n bıtsıłayai' bıyɛ'* (Mr. White Hair's son).
676-28 M. son of 651 and 659, *nats'a'xodłɛ.*
677-12 F. first wife of 676, *da'go bıtsi'*. One son.
678-6 F. second wife of 676, *γai'*, daughter of 675. One daughter.
679-9 F. third wife of 676.
680-20 M. father of 651, *tc'ada'nıγɛhi* (Owl's-Feather-on-Head).
681-20 M. brother of 680, *hastin ak'ai* (Grind).
682-2 F. wife of 681, *koci'* (Cactus).
683-28 F. sister of 651, *ɛstsą doxotci''* (Barren Woman). She is a medicine-woman, knows *ina·djı* also *ant'e·c*, a medicine for cold and a cure for fear of ghosts.
684-7 M. first husband of 683, *kɛcgolį bıyɛ* (Bad-Hoof's son).
685-24 M. second husband of 683, and 504's mother's brother, *doxa'ałtai* (Silent Man).
686-32 M. third husband of 683, *doyałti'* (Dummy). Same mother and father as 655.
687-28 F. mother of 651, *ɛstsą tso'si* (Slim Woman).

GENEALOGY I E

Interpreter and informant: Allen Neskiḥa.

701-16 M. Allen *nɛ'ɛsk'ai*, age 34. Was raised by father's mother's mother near Carrizo Mt. because she had no close relatives.
702-28 F. wife of 701, *atsɑdi bɪyɛ bɑtsi'* (Smith's son's daughter).
703-28 F. daughter of 701 and 702, Mary Louise, age 9.
704-28 F. daughter of 701 and 702, *tci'i*, age 6.
705-28 F. daughter of 701 and 702, Bessie, age 4.
706-28 M. son of 701 and 702, *hacki'* (Boy), age 2.
707-1 M. father of 701, *nɛ'ɛsk'ai'*, age 50. Lived with 708 and 718 at the same time.
708-16 F. first wife of 707, *ɛstsą ɬai'* (Left-handed Woman). Seven children living, three deceased.
709-16 F. daughter of 707 and 708, *ɛstsą ɬai bɑtc'ɛ'ɛ* (Left-handed Woman's daughter).
710-28 M. first husband of 709, *atsidi bɪnali*, deceased. Five children. From Carrizo Mt.
711-28 M. first husband of 716, second husband of 709, Robert *atsɑdi*. One child with 716. Same mother and father as 710.
712-16 M. son of 707 and 708, *ł'astciyajɛ*.
713-22 F. first wife of 712, *sa'ni bɑtc'ɛ'ɛ* (Old Woman's daughter). From below Carrizo Mt. near Black Mt.
714-28 F. second wife of 712, *kɛbɛta'n bɪyɛ bɑtsi'* (Captain's son's daughter). Three children. From Carrizo Mt.
715-16 F. daughter of 707 and 708, Evelyn *ł'astci*, age 18.
716-16 F. daughter of 707 and 708. One child living, two deceased.
255-16 F. daughter of 707 and 708, *nɛ'ɛskai bɑtsi'* (Fat Man's daughter). Three small children.
718-16 F. second wife of 707, *ɛstsą ł'astci bɑtc'ɛ'ɛ*. Same mother as 709, different father.
257-16 M. son of 707 and 718.
720-16 M. son of 707 and 718, *nɛɬyot* (He-ran-back).
721-16 F. daughter of 707 and 718. Two small children.
722-28 M. husband of 712, Charley *bɑtsui'*. From Carrizo Mt.
723-1 F. mother of 707, *hadɛstca'ɬi bɛ'ɛstsą* (Continuous Talker's wife).
724-15 M. first husband of 723, *hasti'n nɛ'ɛskai*. From Lukachukai.
725-15 M. second husband of 723, *dayɑ'its'i* (He Pulls his Moustache).
726-33 M. third husband of 723, *hadɑɬtc'aɬi*. From between Shiprock and Gallup.
727-1 F. daughter of 723 and 724, deceased.
725-15 M. first husband of 727.
727a-16 M. second husband of 727, *yananɛz*. From Carrizo.
728-1 M. son of 725 and 727, George *nɑskɑndo'*. Working in Colorado.
729-1 M. son of 727 and 732, David.
730-7 F. wife of 729, *silago tsosi bɑtsi'* (Slim Policeman's daughter). Three unmarried children.
731-1 F. daughter of 723 and 724.
732-20 M. first husband of 731, *hasti'n dil bɪnali*.
733-20 M. second husband of 731, *hastin bɑtsi ɬayai* (Mr. White Hair). From Carrizo.
734-1 M. son of 731 and 733, deceased.
735-1 F. daughter of 731 and 733, deceased. Husband and children unknown.
736-1 F. daughter of 731 and 733, deceased.

737-1 F. daughter of 731 and 733, Minnie.
738-32 M. first husband of 737, *rafla yajɛ* (Little Ralph). Two children.
739-28 M. second husband of 737, *tsalanɛz bat'a* (Tall Policeman's sister's son.). One child.
740-1 F. daughter of 731 and 733, *djenifin* (Genevieve).
741-? M. husband of 740, Richard *tsosi*. From Lukachukai Mt.
742-1 F. daughter of 731 and 733.
743-1 F. daughter of 723 and 724, *nastɛsbą bama* (Mother of Warband-goes-ahead) Three children deceased, one living.
744-16 M. second husband of 743, *yaninɛz*. From Carrizo Mt.
745-1 M. son of 723 and 724, *iyo'nilnɛzi* (Very Tall).
746-7 F. first wife of 745, *hastin tsɛtcilyato'bɪtsi* (Daughter of Mr. Oak-under-Spring).
747-25 F. second wife of 745, *hadɪstcali bɪtsi'*. Two children.
748-25 F. daughter of 745 and 747, *yonilnɛz bɪtsi'*.
749-15 M. husband of 748, *bali'* (Shawl). From Carrizo.
750-25 F. third wife of 745, *malyan bila'* (*malyan's* sister). Three children.
751-16 F. mother of 708.
752-? M. first husband of 751, an unknown Mexican, 708 was a daughter of 751 and 752.
753-33 M. second husband of 751, *hasti'n bɪtsilɪtsui'* (Mr. Yellow Hair). From Jemez.
754-16 M. son of 751 and 753, *nɛz*.
755-2 F. first wife of 754, *atsidi bɪtsi'*. From Ft. Defiance.
756-2 M. son of 754 and 755. Two small children.
757-28 F. wife of 756, *tabąxą nɛz bɪtsui'*. Two children.
758-2 M. son of 754 and 755.
759-2 F. daughter of 754 and 755.
760-7 M. husband of 759, *hasti'n tcatcilyato' bɪyɛ'* (Son of Spring-under-Oak.)
761-2 F. daughter of 754 and 755.
762-28 F. second wife of 754, *tabąxą nɛz bɪtsui'*. Same mother and father as 757.
744-16 M. son of 751 and 753, *yananɛz*.
743-1 F. first wife of 744, see above.
763-36 F. second wife of 744, *hastin alkocɪn bɪnali* (Mr. Sleep's granddaughter). Three children.
764-16 M. son of 751 an 753, *dɪnɛ'tsosi*.
765-2 F. wife of 764, *atsɪdi bɪtsui'*. Two deceased children.
766-16 M. son of 751 and 753, *hasti'n bada'yailholon* (Man-with-Moustache).
767-20 F. first wife of 766, *hasti'n yani bɪtsui'*. Two children.
768-28 F. second wife of 766, *k'ɛbɪtan bɪnali*. Same mother and father as 714.
769-20 F. third wife of 766, Nora. Same mother as 767, different father. Two children.
718-16 F. daughter of 751 and 753, see above.
771-16 M. son of 751 and 753, *hastin bɪtsilɪtsui' bɪyɛ'* (Mr. Yellow Hair's son).
772-36 F. first wife of 771, *hatalilui bɪtsui'*. Two children.
773-36 F. daughter of 771 and 772, *ltci'i* (Red).
774-7 M. husband of 773, *tsalawatsosi bɪyɛ'*. Same father as 730, different mother.
775-7 F. second wife of 771, *tsalawatsosi bɪtsi'*. One child.
777-16 F. daughter of 751 and 753, deceased.

GENEALOGY I F

778-28 F. mother of 702, *tabąxąnɛz bɪtsi'*.
779-20 M. husband of 778, *atsɪdi bɪyɛ' bɪnai'* (Smith's son's older brother. From Carrizo Mt.
710-28 M. son of 778 and 779, see Gen. I E.
711-28 M. son of 778 and 779, see Gen. I E.
702-28 F. daughter of 778 and 779, see Gen. I E.
781-28 M. son of 778 and 779, Charley.
722-28 M. son of 778 and 779, Charley *bɪtsili'*.
721-16 F. wife of 722, see above.
784-28 F. daughter of 778 and 779, *ozba'* (Warband ?). Three small children.
785-32 M. husband of 784, *ł'ɪzalan bɪyɛ*. From Tiznasbas.
786-28 M. son of 778 and 779, *akɪ'*.
787-28 F. daughter of 778 and 779, *kɛ'naba'* deceased. Two children.
788-9 M. husband of 787, *ł'ɪzała'ni bɪnali*. From Carrizo Mt.
789-28 F. daughter of 778 and 779.
790-28 F. daughter of 778 and 779.
791-28 F. daughter of 778 and 779.
792-28 F. mother of 778, *tabąxą nɛz bɛ'ɛstsą*.
793-36 M. father of 778, *tabąxą nɛz*. From near Carrizo Mt.
26-28 M. son of 792 and 793, *sɪła'go tsosi* (Slim Policeman).
798-28 F. daughter of 792 and 793.
799-20 M. husband of 798, *atsɪdi bɪyɛ*. Same mother and father as 779.
762-28 F. daughter of 798 and 799, second wife of *nɛz*.
800-28 M. son of 798 and 799, Josey.
801-2 F. wife of 800, *tsitcoci bɪtsi'* (Scarce Hair's daughter). From Carrizo.
757-28 F. daughter of 798 and 799.
802-28 M. son of 792 and 793, *ba bɪk'ɪs* (*ba's* brother).
803-20 F. first wife of 802, *ɛstsą łɪtsui bɪtcɛ'ɛ* (Yellow Woman's daughter).
804-20 F. daughter of 802 and 803, *aba'*. One child with second husband.
805-14 M. husband of 804, Red Sheep. From Tiznasbas. Two children.
806-20 M. son of 802 and 803.
807-36 F. wife of 806, *tonak'ai bɪtsi'* (Mexican Water's daughter). One child.
808-20 F. daughter of 802 and 803, Joy, deceased. Child about three was taken by a missionary.
809-14 M. husband of 808, *bɪlaya'nɪɪsxɪn bɪyɛ'* (Son of American-he-killed). Same mother and father as 805.
810-20 F. daughter of 802 and 803, *t'ɛdi* (Little Girl).
811-20 F. second wife of 802, *łaltsozɪn bɪnali* (Slim Yellow Lefty's granddaughter). Five children living, two deceased.
812-28 M. son of 792 and 793, *hackinɛz*.
813-20 F. wife of 812, *atsɪdi bɪtsui'*. Two children.
814-28 F. daughter of 792 and 793, *tabąxąnɛz bɪtsi'*. Five children. She is the second wife of 799.
815-9 M. father of 779, *atsɪdi* (Smith). From Carrizo.
816-20 F. first wife of 815, *ɛstsą łɪtsui'* (Yellow Woman). Was married once before and had one child.
817-29 M. first husband of 816.
732-20 M. son of 816 and 817, see above.
820-20 F. second wife of 815, who had her and 816 at some time, *ɛstsą bɪtsi'łayai'* (White Haired Woman). Same mother and father as 816.
821-20 M. son of 815 and 820, *hastin ts'ɪni bada'ani* (Mr. Bony's son-in-law).
822-7 F. wife. of 821, *hasti'n ts'ɪni bɪtsi'*. Three children known, perhaps more.

822a-20 M. son of 815 and 820, deceased.
823-20 F. daughter of 815 and 820, *ɛstsą bɪlɪziltci baja'ad*. Seven children.
824-14 M. husband of 823.
825-20 F. daughter of 823 and 824, *toji*. One small child.
826-7 M. husband of 825, *sɪlagotsosi bɪyɛ'* (Slim Policeman's son).
827-20 M. son of 815 and 820, *yanaba' bɪjɛ'* (Father of Warband-came-up).
828-24 F. wife of 827, *hasti'n boyo'at'ɪn bɪtsi'* (Mr. No-teeth's daughter). Six children.
829-24 F. daughter of 827 and 828, *yaniba'* (Warband-came-up). Two small children.
830-14 M. husband of 829, *hastin bɪlɪzɪtci' bitsui'* (Mr. Red Goat's grandson).
831-20 M. son of 815 and 820, Pretty John.
832-24 F. first wife of 831, *hastin boyot'ɪn bɪtsi'*. Same father and mother as 828. One child.
833-28 F. second wife of 831, *toxedlinɛ tso bɪtsi'* (Daughter of fat *toxedlinɛ*). One child.
779-20 M. son of 815 and 816.
803-20 F. daughter of 815 and 816, wife of *babɪk'ɪs*.
799-20 M. son of 815 and 816, *atsɪdi bɪyɛ'*.
834-20 M. son of 815 and 816, *k'adi'ai' bada'ani* (Cedar's son-in-law).
835-28 F. wife of 834, *adɛ'tso' bama* (Fat Girl's mother). Five children.
240-28 F. daughter of 834 and 835, see above.
838-28 M. son of 834 and 835, Sam McKee. Lives at Mesa Verde.
839-28 M. son of 834 and 835, *tsą*.
840-24 F. wife of 839, *t'ɪzałani bɪtsi'*. Two small children.
841-28 M. son of 834 and 835, small.
842-28 M. son of 834 and 835, small.
843-20 F. daughter of 815 and 816, *dlįba bama* (*dlįba's* mother).
844-6 M. first husband of 843, *ła' altsozn bɪyɛ'*.
845-20 F. daughter of 843 and 844, *dlįba'*. One small child.
846-8 M. husband of 845, *ɛstsą ba' bɪyɛ'* (Father of Woman-Warrior). Left 845 and lived with 849.
847-20 M. son of 843 and 844, deceased.
848-20 F. daughter of 843 and 844, deceased.
849-20 F. daughter of 843 and 844, *yɪlį'ba* (Warband-pours). One child.
846-8 M. husband of 849.

GENEALOGY I G

Informant: Blind Medicine-man.

Interpreter: Allen Neskiha.

901-20 M. *hastin bada'γai* (Mr. Moustache). From Beautiful Mt. Born at Ft. Sumner, one year old when they came back.
902-32 F. first wife of 901, *dınɛłak'ain bıtsi'* (Fat Navajo's daughter). From Beautiful Mt.
903-32 M. son of 901 and 902, *hasti'n łtsui'* (Mr. Yellow).
904-1 F. wife of 903, *hastin destci'in bınali*. From Beautiful Mt.
905-32 M. son of 901 and 902, *ɛcki tsosi* (Slim Boy).
906-1 F. wife of 905. From Beautiful Mt. Two small children.
907-13 F. third and present wife of 901, *bɛldǫbıtsi'ilın bıtsi'* (Daughter of Gunhandle-Maker). From Beautiful Mt.
908-13 M. son of 901 and 907, *silago* (Soldier), deceased.
909-16 F. wife of 908. From Chaco Cañon.
910-13 M. son of 901 and 907, *hasti'nɛz*.
911-13 M. son of 901 and 907, Dan. At Shiprock School.
912-13 F. daughter of 901 and 907, *ɛstsą yajɛ*. One small child.
913-25 M. husband of 912, *sali bıγɛ'*. From Fruitland.
914-13 F. daughter of 901 and 907, *iba'·* (Warband-has-gone).
915-13 M. son of 901 and 907, *wut* (?), age 9 or 10.
916-13 F. daughter of 901 and 907, *nana'ba·* (Warband-comes-around).
917-13 F. second wife of 901, *inuba* (Warbands-came-together). Same father and mother as 907. 901 lived with both at the same time, but now 917 lives with someone else.
918-13 F. daughter of 901 and 917, *ika'niba·* (Went-amongst-Warbands). One small child.
919-25 M. husband of 918, *analiho bıγɛ'* (Son of Laughing-all-the-time). Same mother as 913, different father.
920-25 M. father of 901, *na'akai hasti'n* (Mexican Man).
921-7 M. father of 920, *dlocɛ'* (Goes-on-all-fours), deceased.
922-25 F. mother of 920, *ɛstsą da'tsahai'* (Woman-always-ill).
923-25 M. son of 921 and 922, *nałaitci'* (Butcher). Was butcher at Ft. Sumner.
924-20 F. first wife of 923, *ɛstsą di'l* (Fat Woman). 923 was her first husband, 926 her second. From Fruitland.
925-20 F. daughter of 923 and 924, *ɛstsą łtsui'* (Yellow Woman).
926-32 M. second husband of 925, *hastin bı'γıs*, (Mr. Pretty-good). 925 is his second wife. From Beautiful Mt.
927-20 M. son of 923 and 924, *na'ałaitci' bıγɛ'* (Butcher's son).
928-16 F. wife of 927, *ana'łɛhoi bɛła'*. From Beautiful Mt. One child living, one deceased.
929-16 M. son of 927 and 928. Wife unknown.
923 married 924 then 930, 926 married 924, then 925.
930-13 F. second wife of 923, *awɛtsą* (Baby ?).
931-13 M. son of 923 and 930, *bɛcbawol* (Metal [*i. e.* gold] Teeth).
932-20 F. wife of 931, *hastin tsɛta' bıtsi'* (Mr. Cañon's daughter).
933-13 M. son of 923 and 930, *na'ałaitci' bıγɛ'* (Butcher's son).
934-9 F. wife of 933, *bılį bıtsigałayai' bınali* (Grandson of Horse-with-a-white-Mane).
935-13 M. son of 923 and 930.
936-13 F. daughter of 923 and 930, deceased.
937-12 M. husband af 936, Willie Pinto.

938-13 F. daughter of 923 and 930. Must have had two men, 939 and 1031.
939-36 M. husband of 938.
940-20 F. daughter of 924 and 926, deceased.
941-20 F. daughter of 924 and 926, *ɛstsą dɛdjol* (Round Woman).
942-1 M. first husband of 941, Mike.
943-2 M. second husband of 941, *aciłtsui'* (Yellow Boy).
944-20 M. son of 925 and 926, deceased. Wife unknown.
945-20 M. son of 925 and 926, James Oliver.
946-2 F. wife of 945. Two or three small children.
947-20 M. son of 925 and 926, *bi'γıs bıγɛ'* (Pretty-good's son). Wife unknown.
948-20 M. son of 925 and 926. Wife unknown.
949-20 F, daughter of 925 and 926, Len Oliver. Children unknown.
950-16 M. husband of 949, *ł'astci nɛz.*
951-20 F. daughter of 925 and 926, *ɛstsą tso'*. At least two children.
952-7 M. husband of 951, *ɛstsą bınałabai' bıtsui'* (Grandchild of Blue-eyed-Woman).
953-25 M. son of 921 and 922, *naxaldjin* (Cripple) but since this is not a "good" name he is also called *nat'aiłnalwụdi* (He-brought-the-Chief-back-with-him).
954-15 F. wife of 953, *nadli'n nazba·* (*nadlį-* goes-to-War).
955-25 M. son of 921 and 922, *dınɛxıntsa·zi.*
956-15 F. first wife of 955, *nadlinazba bıdɛ·ji'* (Younger sister of *nadlį-*goes-to-War).
957-15 M. son of 955 and 956, *njo* (Pretty).
958-20 F. wife of 957, *na'acǫcı bıtsi'* (Gambler's daughter).
959-16 F. second wife of 955, *adɛtsihi' bama* (Tiny Girl's mother),
959a-16 F. daughter of 959 and ?, *adɛtsihi'* (Tiny Girl).
960-16 F. third wife of 955, *maįdja'a talın bıtsi'* (Daughter of Scum-from-Coyote-Ears).
951-12 F. fourth wife of 955, *bılįdałtsoi bıbıjɛ'* (Yellow Horse's paternal aunt [niece]).
962-25 M. son of 921 and 922, *hısleł'oi'* (Sock Weaver).
963-12 F. first wife of 962, *niyoldaik'ɛni bıla'* (Sister of Windy-Garden).
964-12 F. daughter of 962 and 963, *t'aha'ba·* (She-went-with-Warband). Children small unknown.
965-46 (15) M. husband of 964, *k'ıcdilidın bıγɛ'*. From *toxadlin*. Name from Hopi, perhaps clan also.
966-12 M. son of 962 and 963, *tye·*. Wife unknown.
967-32 F. second wife of 962, *bılį łıdjın bıda'* (Black Horse's niece). From Beautiful Mt.
968-20 F. mother of 901, *ɛstsą yajɛ* (Little Woman).
920-25 M. first husband of 968.
969-20 M. son of 920 and 968, deceased.
970-20 F. daughter of 920 and 968, *axina'ba·'* (Two-Warbands-go-around).
971-32 M. first husband of 970, *tsistc'ı'lın bıγɛ* (Curly Hair's son).
972-20 M. son of 970 and 971, *wɛ·'* (Baby).
973-22 F. wife of 972, *hastin tsını bıtsi.*
4-22 F. daughter of 972 and 973, *bɛ'ɛsba·'*.
3-20 M. husband of 4, see Gen. I A.
173-22 F. daughter of 972 and 973, *atsosi* (Slim).
977-20 M. son of 970 and 971, *hastin tsosi'* (Mr. Slim).
978-36 F. first wife of 977, *hastin γa·'nın bıtsi'* (Mr. Gun's daughter). Two children.
979-25 F. second wife of 977, *baha'i'*.
980-20 F. daughter of 970 and 971, deceased.
981-20 M. son of 970 and 971, deceased.
982-20 M. son of 970 and 971, *hackɛ'yozlį.*
983-36 F. wife of 982, *hasti'n adlocın bınali* (Mr. All-Fours' grand-child).
984-7 M. second husband of 970, *hasti'n łıtci* (Mr. Red).

985-20 M. son of 970 and 984, *dınɛ'stcı·*.
986-29 F. wife of 985, *xojo'nihatałi bıtsi'* (*xojoni* Singer's daughter). Many small children unknown. From Beautiful Mt.
987-20 M. son of 970 and 984, deceased.
988-32 M. third husband of 970, *dınɛ łayain bıyɛ'* (White Navajo's son). From Lukachukai.
989-20 F. daughter of 970 and 988, *dzani'*. Three small children.
990-36 M. husband of 989, *haiali ło'ın bıyɛ'* (Laughing Singer's son). From Carrizo Mt.
991-20 M. son of 970 and 988, *hacki' do''dıtsai* (Dumb Warrior).
992-16 F. wife of 991 *nałahoi bıda'* (Laughing's niece).
993-13 fourth husband of 970, *bɛ'ɛldǫ bıtsinilın'* (Gunhandle-Maker's son). Same father as 907.
994-25 F. wife of 995, *hacl'ızın bıtsi'*. One small child.
995-20 M. son of 993 and 970, *tcoi'* (Joey).
996-20 F. daughter of 993 and 970.
997-32 M. second husband of 968, *hasti'n da'atsai'* (Mr. Always Ill).
998-20 F. daughter of 968 and 997, *yılnaba·'* (Warband-goes-with-Captive).
999-7 M. third husband of 968 and first husband of 998, *nak'aisnɛz* (Tall Mexican).
1000-20 M. son of 998 and 999, deceased.
1001-2 F. daughter of 998 and 999, *dlįba·'*. Four children.
1002-25 M. husband of 1001, *hasti'n to'tc'on bıyɛ'* (Ugly Water's son).
1003-13 M. second husband of 998, *hadoltc'ı'dın bınali* (Grandchild of Played-out).
1004-20 F. daughter of 998 and 1003, *gızba·'* (Squeaking-Warband). One small child. From Beautiful Mt. One child.
1005-16 M. husband of 1004.
1006-20 M. brother of 968, *tc'ałabai'* (Brown Head).
1007-25 F. first wife of 1006.
1008-25 F. daughter of 1006 and 1007, *ɛstsǫ tsan*. Children unknown.
1009-20 M. husband of 1008, *atsıdı*. From Lukachukai.
1010-25 F. daughter of 1006 and 1007, *wacbın baja'ad* (Washburn's daughter-in-law). Children unknown.
1011-20 M. husband of 1010, *wacbın bıyɛ'* (Washburn's son).
1012-25 M. son of 1006 and 1007, *daɣaxoci'* (Cactus-Moustache).
1013-25 M. son of 1006 and 1007, *hacki'yajɛ* (Little Boy).
1013a-25 M. son of 1006 and 1007, *hatałiyajɛ* (Little Singer).
1013b-32 F. wife of 1013a, *djɛ'naz ba·* (Heart-went-with-Warband).
1013c-32 F. daughter of 1013a and 1013b, *hatałi yajın bıtsi'* (Little Singer's daughter).
1013d-7 M. first husband of 1013c, *hasti'n hackɛ·n bınali* (Mr. Warrior's grand-child).
1013e-20 M. second husband of 1013c, *hasti'n bilį bıtsila łayain bıyɛ'* (Son of Mr. Horse-with-a-White-Mane). Children unknown.
1013f-25 F. daughter of 1006 and 1007, *djiba·'* (Warband went).
1013g-34 M. first husband of 1013f.
1013h-25 F. daughter of 1013f and 1013g, *ba'hai'*.
1013i-12 M. second husband of 1013f and first husband of 1013h, *hasti'n tolijin ha'lin* (Mr. Black Spring).
1014-7 F. wife of 1013, *akɛdiba bama*.
1015-7 F. daughter of 1014 and her first husband, *akɛ·di'ba*. Was born among the Mexicans.
1016-7 M. son of 1013 and 1014, *hastin tą' badani* (Mr. Clump's son-in-law).
1017-20 F. wife of 1016, *hasti'n tą bıtsi'* (Mr. Clump's daughter). Many children unknown.
1018-7 F. daughter of 1013 and 1014, deceased, Mike *bɛ'ɛstsǫ*. Many small children.
1019-7 M. son of 1013 and 1014, *wacbın* (Washburn).

1020-20 F. wife of 1019, *dayałtsui' bɪtsi'* (Yellow Moustache's daughter).
1011-20 M. son of 1019 and 1020.
1021- ? F. daughter of 1019, unknown.
1022-15 M. husband of 1021, *hastin łbai' bɪnali* (Mr. Gray's grand-child). Children unknown.
1023-25 F. second wife of 1006, *kindeba·'*.
1024-25 M. son of 1006 and 1023, *hastin gahata'*.
1025-12 F. wife of 1024, *dja'anahi bɪtsi'*. One daughter.
1026-25 F. daughter of 1006 and 1023, *adɛ·'d* (Little Girl).
1027-1 M. husband of 1026, *hackɛ'nadał* (Warrior-comes-home).
1028-25 F. daughter of 1006 and 1023, *yahinɛł*. One child.
1029-13 M. husband of 1028, *hastin adjihɪ'n bɪyɛ'* (Son of He-gums-Bowls).
1030-25 M. son of 1006 and 1023, *to'nɛyɛdi*.
930-13 F. wife of 1030, who is her second husband.
1031-25 M. son of 1006 and 1023, *ya·godi* (One-armed Man).
938-13 F. wife of 1031, daughter of 930.
1033-25 M. son of 1006 and 1023, William Sims. Wife unknown.
1034-25 F. daughter of 1006 and 1023, deceased.
1035-20 M. brother of 968, *dɪnɛ nɛz* (Tall Navajo).
1036-7 First wife of 1035, *ɛstsani mazi* (Round Woman). Two children deceased.
1037-22 F. second wife of 1035, *nɛ'ɛsk'ai' bama'* (Fat Man's mother). From Beautiful Mt.
1038-22 F. daughter of 1035 and 1037, *dɪnɛ'nɛz bɪtsi'* (Tall Navajo's daughter) Children unknown.
1039-16 M. first husband of 1038, *bɪnit'anask'i·'j* (Very Thick Face). From Beautiful Mt.
1040-13 M. second husband of 1038, *ciki'* (My Boy). Same father and mother as 907.
1041-13 F. mother of 907.
1042-28 M. Husband of 1041, *bɛldǫbɪtsi'ilɪn* (Gun-handle-Maker).
1043-13 M. son of 1041 and 1042, *bo'n*.
1044-25 F. wife of 1043, *ɛstsą nak'aidɪnɛ* (Mexican Woman).
1045-13 M. son of 1041 and 1042, *bo'n bɪk'ɪs* (Brother of *bo'n*).
998-20 F. first wife of 1045, *k'enazba·'*.
1047-13 F. daughter of 1041 and 1042, *dzan*, deceased. One child deceased.
1048-20 M. husband of 1047, *hadɛltc'at'ni* (Noisy Man).
1049-13 F. daughter of 1041 and 1042, *ɛstsą jin* (Black Woman).
1050-20 M. husband of 1049, *dɪnɛ nɛz* (Tall Navajo).
917-13 F. daughter of 1041 and 1042, *inuba·'*.
1051- ? M. husband of 917, unknown.
1052-13 M. son of 1041 and 1042, James Brown, deceased.
1053-9 F. wife of 1052, *ɛstsą bɪt'ăn̆ bɪtcɛ'ɛ* (Daughter of Woman-of-Folded-Arms-clan).
1054-13 M. son of 1041 and 1042, *dlo·ci'*.
1055-20 F. wife of 1054, *bidją tsɪn bɪtsi'* (Wooden Leg's daughter).
1040-13 M. son of 1041 and 1042, *ciki'* (Boy).
1056-13 F. daughter of 1041 and 1042, *yana''ba·'* (Warband-arrived).
1057-32 M. second husband of 1056, Stephen *bɪk'ɪ's*.
1058-9 M. first husband of 1056, *ɛstsą bɪt'ăn̆ bɪyaj* (son of Woman-of-Folded-Arms-clan). Same mother as 1053.
1059-13 F. daughter of 1056 and 1058, *axi·nazba·'*.

GENEALOGY II A

Lukachukai

Informant: Blue Eyes.
Interpreter: Albert Sandoval.

1-15 M. *hasti'n bina'łabai* (Blue Eyes), age 73. Was at Ft. Sumner.
2-15 F. mother of 1, *ɛstsani yajɛ.*
3-22 M. father of 1, *dadzılgɛ'xɛ* (He-was-abused).
4-15 F. daughter of 2 and 3, deceased.
5-15 M. son of 2 and 3, deceased.
6-15 M. son of 2 and 3, deceased. This child and 5 were born after the return from Ft. Sumner.
7-15 F. daughter of 2 and 3, *daxɛzba·'.*
8-15 F. daughter of 2 and 3, *na'akai bama* (Mexican's mother). She had four sons whose fathers are not known.
9-10 F. first wife of 1.
10-10 M. son of 1 and 9, deceased.
11-10 M. son of 1 and 9, deceased.
12-20 F. second wife of 1.
13-20 M. son of 1 and 12, *hatałi yajɛ* (Little Chanter).
14-10 F. wife of 13. Three daughters and one son unmarried.
15-20 M. son of 1 and 12, Ben.
16-20 F. daughter of 1 and 12, *njoni* (Pretty). Five small children.
17-22 M. husband of 16, *da'yatsosi* (Thin Moustache).
18-20 F. daughter of 16 and 17.
315-24 M. husband of 18.
20-20 M. son of 1 and 12, *baiyajɛ.* Married to a white woman. Works in Artificial Limbs and Arms Co., Kansas City. Has an artificial hand.
21-20 F. daughter of 1 and 12, *ɛstsanɛz,* deceased in 1918 of influenza. Two small children.
22-33 M. husband of 21.
23-20 M. son of 1 and 12, *joni.* Had two small children when he left 24.
24-18 F. wife of 2. From Manuelito.
25-20 F. daughter of 1 and 12, *nanazba·'.* Two small children.
336-24 M. husband of 25.
27-10 F. daughter of 1 and 12, *xonaba·'* (Warband-has-been-here-and-has-left). Two small daughters.
28-33 M. husband of 27. From Cañon de Chelley.
29-20 F. third wife of 1, daughter of 12 and 30.
30-9 M. first husband of 12, *a'dɛłdlı'* (Gambler).
31-20 M. son of 1 and 29, deceased schoolboy.
32-20 M. son of 1 and 29, called Sam on the reservation, school-name Philip. At school at St. Michael's.
33-24 F. wife of 32. Three small daughters. From Crystal.
34-20 F. daughter of 1 and 29, *xahazba·'* (Warband-ascends). One small child.
22-33 M. husband of 34.
35-25 F. fourth and present wife of 1. Four sons and one daughter living, three deceased children.
36-32 M. husband of 7 and 8 at same time, *nat'a·ni'* (Chief). From Tiznasbas.
37-15 F. daughter of 7 and 36. Children unknown.
38-20 M. husband of 37.

39-15 F. daughter of 7 and 36. Children unknown.
40-22 M. husband of 39.
41-9 M. second husband of 7, *tcɪstc'ili yajɛ* (Little Curly Head). Four sons, one daughter.
42-15 M. brother of 2, *hastin tso'* (Mr. Big).
43-10 F. wife of 42. One daughter, one son.
44-15 F. sister of 2, *ɛstsą tso'* (Big Woman).
45-15 F. sister of 2 *na·'ba·'* (Warband-came-back)
46-15 F. sister of 2, *ɛstsą tsosi* (Slender Woman), deceased.
47-15 F. sister of 2, *ɣai'*, deceased.
48-15 M. brother of 2, *wodi'*, deceased small.
49-29 M. husband of 44. From Big Oak.
50-1 M. husband of 45.
51-15 M. son of 45 and 50, *na'idɪlkidɛ* (One who questions), named for 71.
52-9 F. second wife of 51.
53-22 F. fourth wife of 51. Two small children.
54-32 F. third wife of 51. From Tiznasbas.
55-10 F. first wife of 51. From below Chinlee.
56-10 F. daughter of 51 and 55. Children unknown.
57-1 M. husband of 56.
58-15 F. mother of 2, *ɛstsą na'alt'oi* (Smoking Woman). She used to smoke cigarettes of mountain tobacco.
59-36 M. father of 2, *tc'alijini*. From Black Mt.
60-36 M. brother of 59. *yaldɛzi'* (Looking-downward).
61-36 F. sister of 59, *ątci'* (Stingy).
62-? F. wife of 60, unknown.
63-29 M. husband of 61. From Cottonwood Pass.
64-36 M. son of 61 and 63, *biya'djiya* (Man-who-is-walked-under). Lived near San Mateo.
65-36 F. daughter of 61 and 63, deceased.
66-36 M. son of 61 and 63, deceased.
67-15 F. sister of 58, *ɛstsą nɛz* (Tall Woman).
68-15 F. sister of 58, *ɛstsą bɪnadɪnɪ* (Blind Woman).
69-15 F. sister of 58, *ɛstsą ltsui* (Yellow Woman).
70-15 F. sister of 58, *kɪnaba·i'*. "Was kinda loose, had no children."
71-15 M. brother of 58, *na'idɛɬkɪdi'* (Questioner).
72-15 M. brother of 58, *hasti'naɬ bɪyɛ* (Father of Man-who-boils).
73-15 M. brother of 58, *tc'antilɛ* (Broad Head).
74-15 F. mother of 58, *ɛstsą tc'al'ici* (Phlegm-Woman).
75-? M. husband of 74 unknown.
76-36 M. husband of 67. From Round Rock.
77-9 M. husband of 68.
78-15 M. son of 68 and 77, *hackɛyozna* (Warrior-forgot-something).
79-22 F. wife of 78.
80-15 F. daughter of 68 and 77, deceased.
81-10 M. husband of 69, *bit'ahiti* (It-lies-over-a-Hole).
82-15 F. daughter of 69 and 81.
83-33 M. husband of 82, *tsiyɛlani* (Many Queues).
84-15 M. son of 82 and 83, *ba'li*.
85-32 F. wife of 84. From Carrizo Mt. Children unknown.
86-15 F. daughter of 69 and 81. Escaped going to Ft. Sumner by going to Zuñi where she married and had children.
87-15 M. son of 69 and 81, *djobai* (Generous), deceased.
88-9 F. wife of 71. From Round Rock.
89-9 M. son of 71 and 88.
90-30 F. wife of 89. From Carrizo Mt.
91-30 F. daughter of 89 and 90.
93-32 M. husband of 91. From Carrizo Mt.
93-9 M. son of 71 and 88.

94-19 F. wife of 93. From Round Rock.
95-19 M. son of 93 and 94, Cut Hair.
96-1 F. wife of 95. From Big Oak.
97-9 M. son of 71 and 88.
98-20 F. wife of 97.
99-9 F. daughter of 71 and 88.
100-9 F. daughter of 71 and 88, *ɛstsą ɬai* (Left-handed Woman). Two sons living, one deceased.
101-36 M. husband of 100.
102-9 M. son of 100 and 101.
103-15 F. wife of 102.
104-9 F. daughter of 71 and 88.
105-20 M. husband of 104.
106-9 F. daughter of 104 and 105.
107-33 M. husband of 106.
108-9 F. daughter of 104 and 105.
109-33 M. husband of 108.
110-9 F. daughter of 104 and 105.
111-20 M. husband of 110.
112-22 F. wife of 72. From Ft. Defiance.
113-22 M. son of 72 and 112, killed by Utes at Round Rock.
114-22 M. son of 72 and 112, deceased.
115-22 M. son of 72 and 112, deceased.
116-22 F. daughter of 72 and 112, died on the way to Ft. Sumner.
117-36 F. wife of 73. From below Chinlee.
118-36 F. daughter of 73 and 117, *ɛstsą tci'* (Red Woman).
119-29 M. husband of 118. Children unknown.
120-36 M. son of 73 and 117.
121-1 F. wife of 120, deceased. Children unknown.
122-22 F. mother of 3, *ɛstsą biji'dɪn* (Hoarse Woman).
123-4 M. father of 3. From Wheatfields.
124-4 M. brother of 123, *bɪlį daldjɪni* (Black Horse).
124a-4 M. 124's mother's sister's son, *bɪlį doɬiji* (Gray Horse). He and 124 fought with the Utes and were killed.
125-22 M. son of 122 and 123, *t'a dɛja'*.
126-22 M. son of 122 and 123, *djɪltɛxɛ* (He brings only one). So named because he always brought just one prairie-dog back.
127-22 M. son of 122 and 123, *cobi'*.
128-22 F. daughter of 122 and 123, *yanaba'* (Warbands-arrive). Two children living, three deceased).
129-33 F. wife of 25.
130-33 F. daughter of 125 and 129.
131-37 M. husband of 130, *tsiɬɪtsui* (Yellow Hair). From Tohatci.
132-33 F. daughter of 130 and 131.
133-25 M. husband of 132, *acki yajɛ* (Little Boy).
22-33 M. son of 132 and 133.
134-33 M. son of 132 and 133. Committed suicide because he was jealous of a young woman.
135-32 F. wife of 134. From Big Oak.
136-33 M. son of 132 and 133. Drowned in the San Juan.
137-33 F. daughter of 132 and 133. Children unknown.
138-15 M. husband of 137. From Red Rock.
139- ? F. wife of 126 unknown.
140- ? F. wife of 127 unknown.
141-15 M. husband of 128, *dalɪjɪn* (Black Spot)
142-22 M. son of 128 and 141.
143-24 F. wife of 142. Children unknown.
144-22 F. daughter of 128 and 141. Married several different men but they and the children are unknown.

145-25 F. mother of 35.
146-22 M. father of 35.
147-25 M. son of 145 and 146, deceased.
148-33 F. wife of 147.
149-25 M. son of 145 and 146, *l'a* (Lefty). From Round Rock.
150-19 F. wife of 149. Children unknown.
151-25 M. son of 145 and 146, Harry Harvey.
152-15 F. wife of 511. Three small children living, one deceased.
153-25 M. son of 145 and 146, Walter Harvey.
154-10 F. wife of 153. Four small children.
155-25 F. daughter of 145 and 146. Three small children.
15-20 M. husband of 155, Smiley's son.

GENEALOGY II B

Informant: Mr. White Hair.

Interpreter: Albert Sandoval.

201-29 M. *hastin bɪtsi łaɣai'* (Mr. White Hair). From Wheatfields. Spent three years at Ft. Sumner, married long before he went. Remembers distinctly when the whites established the fort at Ft. Defiance.
202-29 F. mother of 201, *hastin bɪłai bɪtsi'* (Mr. Lefty's daughter).
203-16 M. father of 201, *nayitsɨz* (He-pulls-them-off).
204-29 F. daughter of 202 and 203, *daxaba'*, deceased.
205-32 M. husband of 204 and 208 at same time, *bɪt'ănĭyajɛ bɪyɛ'* (Son of Little-Man-of-Arms-Folded).
206-29 F. daughter of 204 and 205. Children unknown.
207-15 M. husband of 206, *oze'ɪsxɪn* (Hopi-he-killed).
208-29 F. daughter of 202 and 203.
205-32 M. husband of 208.
209-29 F. daughter of 202 and 203, Fat Woman, deceased. One infant, also deceased.
210-? M. husband of 209 unknown.
211-29 F. daughter of 202 and 203, *k'ɛhi* (Shoes).
212-14 M. first husband of 211, *oze'ɪsxɪn bɪk'ɪs* (Brother of Hopi-he-killed). From San Juan region. Left 211.
213-29 M. son of 211 and 212.
214-29 F. daughter of 211 and 212.
205-32 M. husband of 214.
216-2 M. second husband of 214, *dzɪł'ani.*
217-29 M. son of 211 and 216, *todɛtci'ini tsosi* (Slim *todɛtci'ini*).
218-29 F. mother of 202, *hastin bɪłai bɛ'ɛstsą.*
219-9 M. father of 202, *hastin bɪłai* (Mr. Lefty).
220-29 M. son of 218 and 219.
221-24 F. wife of 220. From Red Rock.
222-16 M. brother of 203, *gali'sa* (Spanish name).
223-16 M. brother of 203.
224-15 F. wife of 22. Three children, wives and husbands unknown.
225-9 M. father of 203, *dalt'azi.* From Cottonwood Pass, east of Lukachukai Mt.
226-16 F. mother of 203. Had many brothers and sisters but 201 does not know them.
227-6 F. first wife of 201, *dɪco'* (Fuzzy). One deceased daughter.
228-6 F. daughter of 201 and 227, deceased infant.
229-32 F. second wife of 201.
230-32 F. daughter of 201 and 229, *dadiba'*. Lives at Round Rock.
231-1 M. husband of 230, *tsɪnsakadɪnɛ bɪyɛ'*.
231a-32 F. daughter of 230 and 231.
231b-22 M. husband of 231a, *bɪła'cajain bɪyɛ'* (Crooked Finger's son).
232-32 F. daughter of 201 and 229, Ben *bɛ'ɛstsą* (Ben's wife). Three small children.
15-20 M. husband of 232, Ben.
234-32 M. son of 201 and 229.
235-16 F. wife of 234. Children small.
236-32 M. son of 201 and 229 *bɪza'di* (Stutterer).
237-16 F. wife of 236. Many small children.
238-32 M. son of 201 and 229, *dɪco'*.

GENEALOGY II C

Informant: Blind Salt Man.

Interpreter: Albert Sandoval.

301-32 M. *hastin aciḷhi.* Was more than twenty years old at Ft. Sumner. From Black Mt.
302-32 F. mother of 301. From this (Lukachukai) side of *tsɛxilį.*
303-22 M. father of 301, *hasti'n bɪtsi lɪtcoci* (Mr. Wavy Hair).
304-32 M. son of 302 and 303, *wodi'.*
305-32 M. son of 302 and 303.
306-32 M. daughter of 302 and 303, *ba·'.* One child deceased.
307-32 M. son of 302 and 303, deceased infant.
308-24 F. first wife of 301.
309-24 F. daughter of 301 and 308, *adiba·'.*
310-24 F. daughter of 301 and 308, *ja'.*
311-24 F. daughter of 301 and 308, *ałtsi'.*
312-4 M. husband of 30 *hastin ałtsizi* (Mr. Little). From *tsɛxilį.*
313-24 F. daughter of 309 and 312, *yihi'ba·'* (Warband-went-to-War). Three small children.
314-22 M. husband of 313.
315-24 M. son of 309 and 312, *nat'a tsosi* (Slim Chief).
18-20 F. wife of 315.
317-24 F. daughter of 309 and 312, *ałnɛba·'.* Two small children.
318-9 M. husband of 317. From Carrizo Mt.
319-24 F. daughter of 309 and 312, *nłtci'* (Red) or *ałkeiba·'* (Warbands-went-in-succession).
320-20 M. first husband of 310.
321-24 M. son of 310 and 320, *djuḷhi* (Taster).
322-15 F. wife of 321.
323-15 M. second husband of 310, *hatali* (Chanter).
324-24 F. daughter of 310 and 323, *danazba'* (Warbands-meet).
325-9 M. first husband of 324. One child living, one deceased. From toward Carrizo Mt.
326-20 M. second husband of 324, *tsisko bɪyɛ'* (Tsisko's son).
424-24 M. son of 310 and 323, *hackɛ'itaswodɛ'* (He ran-through-the-Warriors).
423-20 F. wife of 424.
329-24 F. daughter of 310 and 323, *axinazba.* (Two-Warbands-clash). One small child.
330-2 M. husband of 329, *dził'ani tcŭ'* (Ugly *dził'ani*).
331-24 M. son of 310 and 323. *da·l.*
332-24 F. daughter of 310 and 323, *yi'nazba·'* (Amongst-the-Warbands).
333-24 M. son of 310 and 323, *yinalwoł* (He-goes-round-and-round-Warriors).
334-24 M. son of 310 and 323, *dja'aba·'*, small.
335-22 M. husband of 311.
336-24 M. son of 311 and 335.
25-20 F. wife of 336. Two small children.
338-24 F. daughter of 311 and 335.
339-36 F. second wife of 301. From Chinlee.
340-36 M. son of 301 and 399, *tye·'.*
341-22 F. wife of 340. Four small children living, one deceased.
342-36 F. daughter of 301 and 339, *ɛstsą łtsui* (Yellow Woman). One child living, one deceased.
343-29 M. husband of 342.

344-36 F. daughter of 342 and 343.
345-16 M. husband of 344. From below Chinlee.
346-36 M. son of 301 a 339, *ayuanałnɛz* (Tall and Slim).
347-22 F. wife of 346. From Chinlee
348-33 M. son of 301 ad 339, *wodi'*.
349-35 F. third wife of 301.
350-25 F. fourth wife of 301, Harry Harvey's mother.
351-20 F. fifth wife of 301. Six children living with 301, two deceased.
352-20 F. daughter of 1 and 351, *dodɛzba* (Warband-did-not-go).
353-20 F. daughter of 351 and 355, *nał'icdɛzba'*. One small child.
354-22 M. husband of 353.
331-15 M. first husband of 351 but he did not live with her.
355-32 M. second husband of 351. From San Juan River.
356-39 M. husband of 306. From Round Rock.
357-32 F. second wife of 303. 302's mother's sister's daughter's daughter.
358-32 F. mother of 302, *tc'ą iba.'* (Warband-went-before).
359-29 M. father of 302.
360-15 M. father of 303, *bulį dałba'i* (Roan Horse).
361-22 M. brother of 303, deceased.
362-22 M. brother of 303, deceased.
363-22 M. brother of 303, deceased.
364-22 F. sister of 303, deceased.
365-22 F. sister of 303, deceased.
366-22 F. sister of 303, deceased.

GENEALOGY II D

Informant: *tsisko.*

Interpreter: Albert Sandoval.

401-9 M. *tsisko*, age over 70. Was captured by Mexicans and taken to Santa Fé from where he was taken to Ft. Sumner.
402-9 F. mother of 401, unknown to 401, died of an early epidemic of smallpox.
403-32 M. father of 401, *hasti'n bilįłayai* (Mr. White Horse).
404-9 M. son of 402 and 403.
403-9 F. daughter of 402 and 403, deceased infant.
406-1 F. first wife of 401. From Cottonwood Pass.
407-36 F. second wife of 401. From Cottonwood Pass.
408-6 F. third wife of 401. From San Francisco Mt.
409-6 M. son of 401 and 408.
410-6 F. daughter of 401 and 408. Many children unknown.
411-6 M. son of 401 and 408.
412-6 F. daughter of 401 and 408.
413-36 F. wife of 409. From San Francisco Mt.
414-14 M. husband of 410. From San Francisco Mt.
415-332 F. wife of 411. Many children unknown. From San Francisco Mt.
416-20 F. fourth and present wife of 401.
417-20 F. daughter of 401 and 416.
418-20 M. son of 401 and 416.
419-20 M. son of 401 and 416, small.
420-20 M. son of 401 and 416, small.
421-20 M. son of 401 and 416, small.
422-22 M. first husband of 417, died in 1918 of influenza.
423-20 F. daughter of 417 and 422.
424-24 M. second husband of 417 and first of 423, *hatałi bıyɛ'* (Chanter's son).
425-20 M. son of 417 and 422, schoolboy.
426-20 F. daughter of 417 and 422, small, herds sheep.
427-24 F. wife of 418. Same father and mother as 424.
428-20 F. daughter of 417 and 424, one and a half years old.
429-? F. wife of 404. 404 was captured by the Mexicans hence his wife is unknown. 401 saw him about twenty years ago in southern Utah and he was then unmarried.
430-1 F. second wife of 403. From Cottonwood Pass. 403 married this woman after 401 was grown.
431-15 M. father of 403.
431a-32 F. Mother of 403.
432-20 F. Mother of 416.
433-36 M. second husband of 416, *yo'ini.* From Ft. Defiance.
434-20 M. son of 432 and 438, *hastin bawo'dıni* (Mr. Toothless).
435-20 M. son of 432 and 438, died at Ft. Defiance when small.
436-20 F. daughter of 432 and 433, deceased.
437-20 F. daughter of 432 and 433, deceased.
438-4 M. first husband of 432. From *tsehilį.*
439-20 F. daughter of 432 and 433, Smiley's wife.
440-15 M. husband of 437 an 439, Smiley. Married 437 after the death of 439.
441-20 F. daughter of 432 and 433, One daughter, three sons living, one child deceased.
442-20 F. daughter of 432 and 433.

443-33 F. first wife of 434. Three children deceased.
444-33 F. daughter of 443 and second wife of 434.
445-22 M. husband of 436, *ała'n* (Drunk).
446-20 F. daughter of 445 and 436, deceased. Two small children deceased.
447-12 M. husband of 446. From Carrizo Mt.
447a-20 F. daughter of 436 and 445. Two children.
448-3 M. husband of 447a, *hastin o'la* (Gold, spanish "ora"). From Big Oak below Round Rock.
449-20 M. son of 447a and 448. At Shiprock School.
450-20 F. daughter of 447a and 448.
451-33 M. husband of 450.
452-20 F. daughter of 436 and 445, Mary Gardner. Children unknown.
453-12 M. husband of 452. From San Juan River.
454-20 F. daughter of 436 and 445. Children unknown.
455-33 M. husband of 454.
456-20 M. son of 436 and 445.
440-15 M. husband of 437.
458-20 F. daughter of 437 and 440. Four small children.
459-12 M. husband of 458. From Carizzo Mt.
156-20 M. son of 437 and 440.
155-25 F. wife of 156. Three small children. From Lukachukai.
462-20 M. son of 437 and 440, deceased.
463-20 M. son of 437 and 440, *tsi̊kodidi* (Cut Hair).
464-20 F. daughter of 437 and 440, *bił̨zi̊zba'* (Sleepy Warrior ?) or Agnes.
465-30 M. husband of 464. From Black Mt.
466-9 F. wife of 463. Two small children.
467-20 M. son of 437 and 440, deceased.
468-20 F. daughter of 437 and 440. Two small children.
469-6 M. husband of 468.
470-20 F. daughter of 437 and 440.
471-25 M. husband of 470.
472-6 M. husband of 441, *hadiłtc'a'łi'* (Talker).
473-20 F. daughter of 441 and 472, deceased infant.
474-6 M. second husband of 442, *nadlinɛ'* (Look-Around). Same father and mother as 472.
475-20 M. son of 442 and 474.
476-20 F. daughter of 442 and 474. One small daughter and one small son.
477-15 M. husband of 476.
478-3 F. wife of 475. From Red Rock.
479-16 M. first husband of 442.
480-20 F. daughter of 442 and 479. Two small children.
481-32 M. husband of 480. From San Juan River.
482-20 F. mother of 432, unknown.
483-29 M. father of 432, *acikɛ'daltsui* (Yellow Boy).
484-36 F. mother of 433, unknown.
485-36 F. sister of 484, *ɛstsą dji'*.

GENEALOGY III

Lukachukai

Informant: Albert's Grandmother.

Interpreter: Albert Sandoval.

1-46 (15) F. *ɛstsą ɬaɣai* (White Woman), age 80—90. Had three children before she went to Ft. Sumner.
2-35 M. first husband of 1, *djɬaba'n bɪɣɛ'* (Brown Head's son).
3-15 F. mother of 1, *djɪk'ɛ' yajɛ.*
4-22 M. father of 1, *yagek'ali* (Arm-shot-off). Shot near San Mateo by an American soldier or a Mexican.
5-15 M. son of 3 and 4, deceased infant.
6-15 F. daughter of 3 and 4, *nadlį akidiną* (Two-Armies-come-together).
7-35 M. husband of 6, *hastin na'ltsidi* (Mr. Coward).
8-15 F. daughter of 6 and 7, *ba·i'*. Many children.
9-9 M. husband of 8, *bɪt'ani yajɛ.* From near Manuelito.
10-15 M. son of 6 and 7, *hackɛaɬaɣaidɪt'a* (Dispute-over-Authority).
11-41 F. last wife of 10. From below Chinlee. One daughter, one son.
12-15 M. son of 6 and 7, deceased. Wife unknown.
13-15 F. daughter of 3 and 4, *baya'jɛ.* Married 2 after he left 1.
14-15 F. daughter of 2 and 13, *sa·ni* (Old Woman).
9-9 M. first husband of 14. Married 14, had one child, then went and lived with 8, whereupon 14 left him.
15-15 F. daughter of 9 and 14, *djɪniba'* (Warband-went-to-War). Many children.
16-22 M. second husband of 14, *ɛstsą bodjai bɪyaj.* One child living, two deceased.
16a-15 F. daughter of 14 and 16, *nanaba·'*.
17-22 M. husband of 16.
18-32 M. husband of 15, *bahojon* (Jolly).
19-15 F. daughter of 15 and 18, *dzanɬbai'* (Gray *dzan*).
20-36 M. husband of 19, *tabąxą tsosi* (Slim *tabąxą*). From Big Oak.
21-15 M. son of 3 and 4, *nat'asɪt'ai* (Sitting Chief). Married many times, only one wife known. Many children unknown.
22-3 F. wife of 21. From Ft. Defiance district.
23-15 F. daughter of 3 and 4, deceased.
24-22 F. mother of 4, unknown.
25-30 M. father of 4, *hackɛndiba·'* (Warrior-going-to-War). This man may be of clan 29, I is not quite sure. Thirteen children.
26-15 F. mother of 3, *ɛstsą ɬɪzditci'* (Red-Goat-Woman).
27-20 M. husband of 26, *cɪni'do'*. From San Mateo.
28-9 M. father of 26. From near Shiprock.
29-15 F. mother of 26, *bata·n* (Leaf).
30-15 F. daughter of 28 and 29, *das ba'ad* (Heavy's wife).
31-16 M. husband of 30, *das* (Heavy). Eight daughters and five sons, unknown. Many of these people were lost during the war and I does not know them. From *tsexilį.*
32-15 F. daughter of 1 and 2, *ɛstsą yajɛ.* The only one of 11 children living. A twin, the other died at the age of 8. Ten children.
33-16 M. husband of 32, *tcan telɪn bɪɣɛ* (Big Belly). From San Juan River.
34-36 M. third husband of 1, *bahɬɪni* (Bread-maker). Two children deceased.
35-36 M. second husband of 1, *ack'oli.* Five children.
36-15 F. daughter of 1 and 35, *ɛstsą ɬbai'* (Gray Woman), deceased.

37-37 M. husband of 36, *abatcɪn bɪyɛ'* (Apache's son).
38-17 M. father of 37, *abatcɪn* (Apache).
39-15 M. son of 36 and 37, *hackɛyibato'swot* (He-outruns-the-Enemy), otherwise known as Kenneth Apache.
40-15 F. daughter of 36 and 37, *nadlɪ̨yɪnłba'* (Warband-overtook-Enemy). Two small children.
41-6 M. husband of 40, *hastin hajo'go* (Mr. Gentle). Official interpreter at Shiprock. From Tiznasbas.
42-15 F. daughter of 36 and 37, *nadlɪ̨yanazba'* (Warband-is-on-the-War-path). Two small daughters, one son.
43-9 M. husband of 42, *la'i'*. San Juan River.
44-15 M. son of 36 and 37, John Apache, or *dɪnɛ łtci'* (Red Navajo).
45-15 M. son of 36 and 37, *dji yaj* (Eugene Apache). At school at Ft. Apache.
46-15 M. son of 32 and 33, *hackɛyitc'ixolɛ́ł* (Approaching-Enemy), otherwise Thomas Sandoval.
47-10 F. wife of 46. From Torreon.
48-15 ? child of 32 and 33, deceased.
49-15 F. daughter of 32 and 33 *kixɪ̨bai'* (Carry-War-into-Village).
50-12 M. first husband of 49, *bɪtǎnǐyajɛ bɪyɛ'* (Little *bɪt'ǎnǐ's* son). Three children. He left 49 when the children were small.
51-15. M. son of 49 and 50, Dan Warren. At school.
52-15 F. daughter of 49 and 50, *ɛstsą tci'* or Lily Warren.
53-22 M. husband of 52, *k'adi bɪnali* (Grandchild of Quite-enough). From Carrizo Mt.
54-15 F. daughter of 49 and 50, Nellie Warren. At school.
55-22 M. second husband of 49, Warren *bɪ̨ bɪto'oni*. Five children living, one dead. From Carrizo Mt.
56-15 M. son of 32 and 33, Albert G. Sandoval or *ciki'*.
57-32 F. wife of 56, *alnaba'* (Warbands-made-across). This woman has kept her name which is written in English "Ethnobah." Three small children.
58-15 F. daughter of 32 and 33, deceased.
58a-15 F. daughter of 32 and 33, deceased.
58b-15 M. son of 32 and 33, deceased.
59-15 M. son of 32 and 33, Gilbert Sandoval, or *gi'*.
60-22 F. wife of 59, Bessie. Same mother and father as 55. Two small sons.
61-15 M. son of 32 and 33, Juan Sandoval or *gi' yajɛ*.
62-22 F. wife of 61. Same mother and father as 55 and 60. Two small children.
63-15 M. son of 32 and 33, deceased in 1918.

Informant: *dądɛzba'*.
Interpreter: Albert Sandoval.

101-22 F. *dądɛzba'* (Warband-starts-back). Probably about 80. Had child four years old when she went to Ft. Sumner.
102-15 M. first husband of 101, *bɪlɪ̨ bɪni'layai* (White-faced Horse). One child, deceased.
103-20 M. second husband of 101, *bɪlɪ̨ tsosi* (Lean Horse). One child deceased, two living. From San Juan River.
104-22 F. daughter of 101 and 103, *k'ɛxanaba'*.
105-9 M. first husband of 104 and third of 101, *hasti'n łtsui'* (Mr. Yellow).
106-22 F. daughter of 104 and 105, *yikazba'*.
107-15 M. husband of 106, *dɪnɛ yuldil* (Heavy-set-Navajo).
108-22 M. son of 106 and 107, *nadałbai* (Gray Orator, Chief).
109-14 F. wife of 108. From San Juan River.
110-22 F. daughter of 106 and 107, *dądɛzba'* (Warband-starts-back).
111-9 M. husband of 110. From San Juan River.

112-22 F. daughter of 106 and 107.
113-22 F. daughter of 106 and 107.
114-22 F. daughter of 106 and 107.
115-22 M. son of 104 and 105, *hasti'n łbai* (Mr. Gray). Many children, none married.
116-36 F. wife of 115.
117-22 M. son of 104 and 105, *doxałtai'* (Silent Man). From San Juan River.
118-22 F. daughter of 101 and 103, *nadlįįliba*..
119-36 M. husband of 118, *hasti'n atsǫ'si* (Mr. Sucking).
120-22 M. son of 118 and 119, *hasti'n nɛ'ɛsk'ai* (Mr. Mexican).
121-9 F. wife of 120. Six small children.
122-22 M. son of 118 and 119, *hasti'n yajɛ*.
123-15 F. wife of 122. One small child.
124-22 M. son of 118 and 119, *luk'atc'uɣaini* (Deceased-man-from-Lukachukai).
125-15 F. wife of 124. Two small children.
126-22 F. daughter of 118 and 119, *ɛłna'ba·'* (Warbands-made-across). Four small children.
127-10 M. husband of 126, *hackɛ'snił*.
128-22 F. daughter of 118 and 119, *nazba·'*. One small child.
119-12 M. husband of 128.
130-22 M. son of 118 and 119, schoolboy.
105-9 M. third husband of 101, *hasti'n łtsui* (Mr. Yellow).
16-22 M. son of 101 and 105, *hackɛ'inalawał* (He-goes-around-Warriors).
133-22 M. son of 101 and 105, *tsigodɛ`* (Bobbed Hair).
134-12 F. wife of 133. One child. From Carrizo Mt.
135-22 F. daughter of 101 and 105, *bahiyajɛ*.
136-24 M. husband of 135.
137-22 F. daughter of 101 and 105, *nanaba·'*.
138-29 M. husband of 137, *todɪtcini tsosi* (Slim *todɛtcini*). From *tsɛxilį*.
139-32 M. first husband of 140, father of 101, *acįhį dałai* (Lonely *acįhį*). From *tsɛxilį*.
140-22 F. mother of 101.
141-22 M. son of 139 and 140, killed by Mexicans.
142-22 M. son of 139 and 140, *daɣaitsį bɪɣɛ'*.
Wives and children many and unknown.
143-25 F. one wife of 142.
144-22 M. son of 140 and 147, deceased.
145-22 F. daughter of 140 and 147, deceased.
146-22 M. son of 147 and 147, deceased infant.
146a-22 M. son of 140 and 147, deceased infant.
147-15 M. second husband of 140, *daɣaitsį*.
102-15 M. third husband of 140.

GENEALOGY IV

Lukachukai.

Informant: Manchista.

Interpreter: Albert Sandoval.

1-20 M. Manchista or *aditsai'*. Was not at Ft. Sumner because he was captured by the Mexicans.
2-20 F. mother of 1, *estsan dudlɛ'* (Woman-who-gambles-with-Sticks).
3-35 M. father of 1, *hasti'n nltci'* short for *nltcidji* (Mr. Wind, or Wind Chant).
4-20 F. daughter of 2 and 54, *estsą sisi'*. Died of old age.
5-20 M. son of 2 and 3 *dinenez* (Tall Navajo).
6-20 F. daughter of 2 and 3. Was captured by Mexicans and never heard of again.
7-20 F. daughter of 2 and 3, *sa·ni tso'* (Big *sani*), deceased.
8-20 F. daughter of 2 and 3, *saniyajɛ* (Little *sani*), deceased.
3-35 M. M. husband of 4.
9-20 F. daughter of 3 and 4, *tc'it'oba·'* (Warband-at-Red Lake).
10-? M. husband of 9, *hackeyilnadaci'* (He-brings-Warrior-back-with-him).
11-20 M. son of 9 and 10, *hasti'n łej* (Mr. Clay) or Harry McKinley.
12-22 F. wife of 11. Many small children.
13-20 F. daughter of 3 and 4. Three children deceased, three living.
14-32 M. husband of 13, *bilįlijin* (Black Horse). From Red Rock.
14a-20 F. daughter of 13 and 14.
15-35 M. husband of 14a, *bitsiniyɛ* (Skinny).
16-20 F. daughter of 13 and 14.
17-35 M. husband of 16. Same father and mother as 15.
18-20 M. son of 13 and 14. Living at Black Mt.
19-16 F. wife of 5, *bilna'jnaba·'* (Warband-takes-Captive-home). From Cottonwood Pass.
20-16 F. daughter of 5 and 19.
21-32 M. first husband of 20, *nak'aigizi* (Crooked Mexican).
22-25 M. second husband of 20. One twin deceased, one living.
23-16 M. son of 5 and 19, *dinɛ nɛz biyɛ'* (Tall Navajo's son).
24-29 F. wife of 23. Children unknown.
25-16 M. son of 5 and 19, *atsidi* (Smith).
26-29 F. wife of 25. Same mother and father as 24.
27-16 F. daughter of 5 and 19. Children unknown.
28-32 M. husband of 27, *dinɛ nɛz badani* (Tall Navajo's son-in-law). From Beautiful Mt.
29-25 F. first wife of 1, *aditsai bɛ'ɛstsą* (wife of *aditsai*).
30-25 F. daughter of 1 and 29, *aditsai bitsi'* (Daughter of *aditsai*). One daughter living, one son deceased.
31-9 M. husband of 30, *bɛc bayoi* (Gold Teeth).
30a-25 M. son of 1 and 29, deceased infant.
30b-25 M. son of 1 and 29, deceased infant.
32-25 M. son of 1 and 29, *hasti'n tso'* (Mr. Big).
33-9 F. wife of 32, *hastin bitsilbai' bitsi* (Mr. White Hair's daughter). Three small children. From Round Rock.
34-25 M. son of 1 and 29, *hackiltci'* (Red Boy).
35-9 F. wife of 34, *ɛstsą łbai* (Gray Woman).
36-9 F. daughter of 34 and 35. One small child.
37-35 M. husband of 36, *todokǫji bitsilitsoi*.
38-9 F. daughter of 34 and 35. Lives at Shiprock.

39-22 M. husband of 38. From opposite Farmington.
40-25 M. son of 1 and 29, *na'dın* (Blind).
41-1 F. wife of 40. From Round Rock.
42-25 F. second wife of 1, lived with her at same time as 29. 29's oldest sister's daughter.
43-25 M. son of 1 and 42, *hackɛinaso'ot* (Warrior-encircles), deceased.
44-25 M. son of 1 and 42, *bɪtsi·stcili*.
45-25 M. son of 1 and 42, *dınalbai*, deceased.
46-25 F. daughter of 1 and 42, *ba'a*.
47-25 F. daughter of 1 and 42, deceased small.
48-35 F. wife of 43, deceased.
49-35 M. son of 43 and 48, age 13.
50-9 M. husband of 46, *hacγa'atso'ın bɪγɛ'*. Two small daughters, two small sons.
51-9 F. wife of 44. One small child living, one deceased. From Round Rock.
52-35 F. wife of 45.
53-33 F. third wife of 1, *ɛstsą ałtsasi* (Short Woman).
54-? M. first husband of 2, unknown.
55-20 F. mother of 2.
56-32 M. father of 2, *dɛ·sizi* (Tiptoe) From Wheatfields.
57-20 M. son of 55 and 56.
58-20 M. son of 55 and 56.
59-20 M. son of 55 and 56.
60-25 F. wife of 57. Children unknown.
61-36 F. wife of 58. Children unknown.
62-25 F. wife of 59. Children unknown.
63-35 M. brother of 3.
64-35 F. sister of 3, *ɛstsą siyɪni* (Flabby Woman).
65-? M. husband of 64, *bɛ'ɛ·ishɪni* (Spotted Shirt).
66-10 F. wife of 63.
67-25 F. sister of 29.
68-22 M. husband of 67, *nała'ai* (Left-handed).
69-25 M. brother of 29.
70-20 F. wife of 69.
71-25 M. brother of 29, *naikaidınɛ bınidałoi* (Woolly-faced *nak'aidınɛ*).
72-1 F. wife of 71. From Round Rock.
73-25 F. sister of 29, deceased.
74-33 M. second husband of 73. From *tsɛxilį*.
75-22 M. first husband of 73.
76-33 F. sister of 53. Children unknown.
76a-29 M. husband of 76, *bɪtsi łabahagi'*.
77-33 F. sister of 53.
78-33 M. brother of 53.
79-29 M. husband of 77, deceased. Same mother and father as 76a.
80-20 F. wife of 78.
81-29 M. father of 53, *dınɛdas* (Heavy Navajo). From Cañon de Chelley.
82-19 M. first husband of 53, *nakai*. Four daughters living.

GENEALOGY V

Lukachukai

Informant: Salt Woman.
Interpreter: Albert Sandoval.

1-35 F. *ɛstsą todokǫji*, age about 80. Was at Ft. Sumner.
2-35 F. mother of 1, *ɛstsą yajɛ* (Little Woman).
3-9 M. father of 1, *atsą ack'ajɛ* (Kidney).
4-35 M. son of 2 and 3, *tcictc'ili* (Curly Hair).
5-35 M. son of 2 and 3. Captured by Utes hence unknown although 1 hears he is still living among the Mexicans.
7-24 M. first husband of 1. From Red Rock.
8-8 M. second husband of 1. From Cottonwood Pass.
9-2 M. third husband of 1.
10-35 F. daughter of 1 and 8.
11-35 M. son of 1 and 8, deceased.
12-15 M. husband of 10.
13-35 F. daughter of 10 and 12, deceased.
14-24 M. husband of 13, *dayajon* (Nice Moustache).
15-35 F. daughter of 13 and 14. Five small children.
16-35 F. daughter of 13 and 14. Four small children.
17-15 M. husband of 15.
18-15 M. husband of 16.
19-35 M. son of 1 and 9.
20-15 F. wife of 19.
21-15 M. son of 19 and 20, deceased.
22-15 M. son of 19 and 20, *hackɛłhackai'* or Leonard.
23-15 F. daughter of 19 and 20, *k'ịdzǫzba·'* (Warband-among-Reeds ?).
24-15 M. son of 19 and 20, deceased.
25-15 M. son of 19 and 20, *dınałyai'* (White Navajo), Willie Harvey.
26-15 F. daughter of 19 and 20, deceased infant.
27-15 M. son of 19 and 20, *yihilwut* (He-went-among-them), Louey Harvey. At school.
28-15 M. son of 19 and 20, *bıtci'*.
29-36 F. first wife of 22, died of influenza in 1918. One small daughter. From Round Rock.
30-10 F. second wife of 22. One small son. Cares for small daughter of 22 and 29.
31-24 M. first husband of 23.
32-15 F. daughter of 23 and 31, *dji'nıba·'* (Warband-arrived).
33-15 F. daughter of 23 and 31, *djındɛzba·'* (Warband-started-out).
34-10 M. second husband of 23. One small son, David.
35-15 M. fourth husband of 1, *hastin bıts'ini* (Mr. ?). One child.
36-35 F. daughter of 1 and 35.
37-25 M. husband of 36, *hastin bitsik'ot'ɛ* (Mr. Cut Hair).
38-35 M. son of 36 and 37.
39-35 M. son of 36 and 37, deceased.
40-35, F. daughter of 36 and 37, deceased.
41-35 F. daughter of 36 and 37, *ts'a'naba·'* (Warband-bounced-back). Has one child although "lives with no man."
42-35 F. daughter of 36 and 37, deceased in 1918 of influenza.
43-35 F. daughter of 36 and 37, deceased in 1918 of influenza.
44-10 F. first wife of 38, deceased.

45-33 F. second wife of 38. Two small children.
46-20 F. wife of 39.
47-15 M. husband of 40.
48-36 F. wife of 4.
49-36 M. son of 4 and 48, deceased.
50-32 F. wife of 49. Four children deceased. From Black Mt.
51-36 M. son of 4 and 48, deceased.
52-? F. wife of 51, unknown.
53-35 M. brother of 2.
54-35 M. brother of 2.
55-25 F. wife of 53.
56-35 F. mother of 2. Killed two of her children during the capture of the Navajo in Cañon de Chelley, and was killed there herself.
57-29 M. father of 2.
58-24 M. brother of 7.
59-24 M. brother of 7.
60-24 M. brother of 7.
61-24 M. brother of 7.
62-24 F. sister of 7.
63-24 F. sister of 7.
64-24 F. sister of 7.
8 had three brothers and four sisters, but they lived far away and 1 does not know them.
65-10 F. wife of one of 35's brothers.
65a-15 F. sister of 35.
65b-15 M. brother of 35.
66-9 M. husband of 65a. One child.
66a-15 F. sister of 35.
67-32 M. husband of 66a. From Cañon de Chelley.

GENEALOGY VI

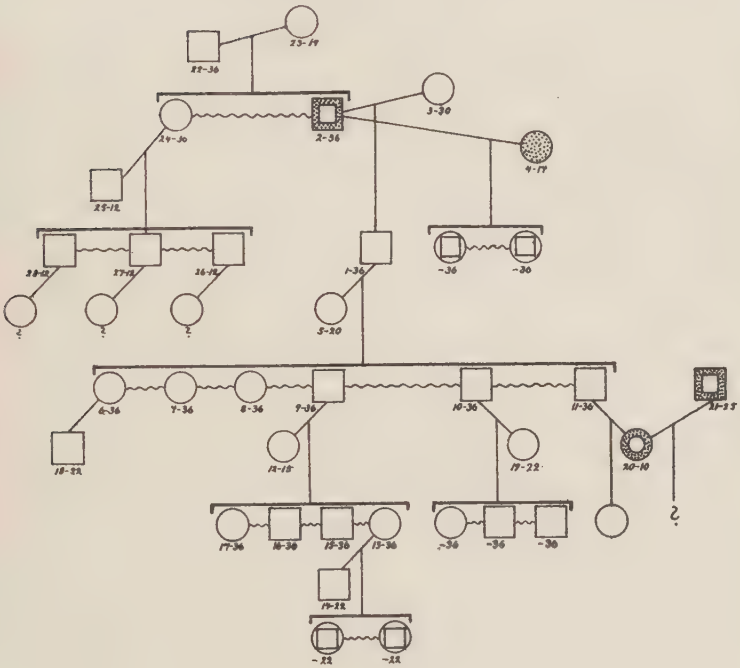
tsɛxilį

Informant: *tabąxą* woman.

Interpreter: Albert Sandoval.

1-36 F. *tabąxą ɛstsą*. About 10 or 12 when she went to Ft. Sumner. From Tohatci.
2-36 F. mother of 1.
3-30 M. first husband of 2, father of 1. Killed by White Mountain Apache when 1 was still a baby.
4-17 M. second husband of 2. Two small sons deceased. From Tohatci.
5-20 M. first husband of 1, *natxai'*.
6-36 M. son of 1 and 5.
7-36 M. son of 1 and 5, deceased.
8-36 M. son of 1 and 5, deceased.
9-36 F. daughter of 1 and 5.
10-36 F. daughter of 1 and 5. Two small daughters, one small son.
11-36 F. daughter of 1 and 5, deceased.
12-15 M. husband of 9, not living with her now. Two sons and two daughters.
13-36 M. son of 9 and 12.
14-22 F. wife of 13. Two small children.
15-36 F. daughter of 9 and 12.
16-36 F. daughter of 9 and 12, small.
17-36 M. son of 9 and 12, small.
18-22 F. wife of 6.
19-22 M. husband of 10. *ł'altsui'* (Yellow Lefty), Nathaniel.
20-10 M. husband of 11, *hackɛ'xayitsi'* (Warrior ?).
21-25 F. second wife of 20. Children unknown.
22-36 F. mother of 2, *ɛstsą yajɛ*.
23-17 M. father of 2, *hastin ts'ın* (Mr. Bony). From Tohatci.
24-36 M. son of 22 and 23.
25-12 F. wife of 24.
26-12 F. daughter of 24 and 25, husband unknown.
27-12 F. daughter of 24 and 25, husband unknown.
28-12 F. daughter of 24 and 25, husband unknown.

Genealogy VI



GENEALOGY VII

tsexılį

Informant: White Hair.

Interpreter: Albert Sandoval.

1-29 M. *bɪtsiłabaihigi*, age about 70. Was a boy who could remember when he went to Ft. Sumner.
2-29 F. mother of 1, *ɛstsą yajɛ* (Little Woman) Lived until a little before I was married.
3-22 M. father of 1, *bɪta'inɛ* (Long Forelock). Died when 1 was only a few days old.
4-29 M. son of 2 and 3.
5-29 M. son of 2 and 3, *hasti'n yajɛ* (Mr. Little), deceased.
6-29 M. son of 2 and 3.
7-29 F. daughter of 2 and 3, deceased.
8-29 F. daughter of 2 and 3.
9-15 F. wife of 4. From Big Oak.
10-15 F. daughter of 4 and 9. One small child deceased.
11-6 M. husband of 10. From Black Mt.
12-14 M. husband of 7, deceased. From Round Rock.
13-14 F. first wife of 5. Same father and mother as 12.
14-33 F. second wife of 5, *yɪłnazba·* (Went-with-Warband). From Cañon de Chelley. Three children living, three deceased.
15-33 F. daughter of 5 and 14, *adɛ·ł'oli* (Doll-like Girl). Many small children.
16-2 M. husband of 15.
17-33 F. daughter of 15 and 16. Two small children.
18-10 M. husband of 17.
19-33 M. son of 5 and 14. Children unknown.
20-9 F. wife of 19. From Carrizo Mt.
21-33 F. daughter of 5 and 14, deceased. Was first wife of 16.
16-2 M. husband of 21.
Several other children of 5 and 14 died small.
22-16 M. husband of 8, *hasti'n tso'* (Mr. Big). From Wheatfields.
23-29 M. son of 8 and 22. One daughter and one son.
24-4 F. wife of 23.
25-4 F. daughter of 23 and 24.
26-16 M. husband of 25. From Wheatfields.
27-33 F. wife of 6. Same father and mother as 14. From Cañon de Chelley.
28-33 M. son of 6 and 27. At school.
28a-33 M. son of 6 and 27.
29-15 F. first wife of 1. From Big Oak.
30-16 F. second wife of 1. From Black Mt.
31-33 F. third and present wife of 1, *bįdacanba·'*. Same mother and father as 14 and 27. From Cañon de Chelley.
32-33 M. son of 1 and 31, *yahilyoł* (He-ran-alongside).
33-33 M. son of 1 and 31, *hacke'cnil* (Keep-Warriors).
34-33 M. son of 1 and 31, *ayoli·ł* (He-makes-a-Warrior).
35-33 F. daughter of 1 and 31, *k'ɛxazba·'* (Warband-went-for-Friendship).
36-33 F. daughter of 1 and 31. *alk'ɛxazba·'* (Warband-goes-on-same-Trail).
37-33 F. daughter of 1 and 31, *k'ɪniba·'* (Finds-Warband).
93-3 M. first husband of 35. From Black Mt.
40-24 M. second husband of 35, Charley Mitchell.
41-2 M. third husband of 35 and first husband of 36 at same time, had one son with 35. *kįnlɪni* (House-Builder). Same father and mother as 16. One son.
42-9 M. fourth husband of 35, *hasti'n łtsui*. One son.
43-19 M. fifth husband of 35. One small daughter, Betty Wetherill being raised by Mrs. John Wetherill. From Round Rock.

44-20 M. sixth husband of 35. One small child living, one deceased. From Kayenta.
45-9 F. first wife of 32.
46-19 F. second wife of 32, deceased. Five children. From Round Rock.
47-2 F. third and present wife of 32. Three small children.
47a-2 F. mother of 47.
48-33 F. daughter of 36 and 41, *ałk'ıniba·'*. Two small children.
49-8 M. husband of 48. From Round Rock.
50-33 M. son of 36 and 41; *hackɛxade·lıs* (He-grabbed-a-Warrior).
51-6 F. wife of 50. From Carrizo Mt.
52-33 M. son of 36 and 41, Harvey. Schoolboy.
53-8 F. wife of 33. Same father and mother as 49. Many small children. From Round Rock.
54-8 F. daughter of 33 and 53.
55-4 M. husband of 54.
56-4 M. second husband of 37. Same mother and father as 55. Two small children.
57-22 M. first husband of 37, deceased. Two small children. From Round Rock.
58-4 F. wife of 34. Same mother and father as 55 and 56.
59-29 F. mother of 2, *ɛstsą go'* (Thick Woman).
60-25 M. father of 2.
61-29 M. brother of 2.
62-22 F. mother of 3, perhaps his mother's sister, *ɛstsą da'at'ą* (Woman-Corn-Husk-Cigarette-Paper).
63-? M. father of 3 unknown.
64-33 M. brother of 31, *nak'aiyozna'* (Mexican Forgot).
64a-33 M. brother of 31.
64b-33 M brother of 31. 64, 64a, and 64b live with the Mexicans.
65-20 F. wife of 64.
66-33 F. mother of 31, *ɛstsą t'ąhi* (Thin Woman).
67-33 F. sister of 66, *nak'ai ɛstsą* (Mexican Woman).
68-33 F. daughter of 67 and ?, *bak'a'zazba·'*.
69-16 M. first husband of 68, *bat'aya'nɛz* (Long Moustache).
70-33 M. son of 68 and 69.
71-36 F. first wife of 70, *nada'idixıldıł*. From Cañon del Muerto.
72-33 M. son of 68 and 69, *hackeyıldıł* (Warrior-throws-stick-forward).
73-36 F. daughter of 70 and 71. One small daughter.
74-19 M. husband of 73.
75-19 F. second wife of 70. One small son, two daughters.
76-4 F. wife of 72. Two small sons, two daughters.
77-36 M. second husband of 68, *hasti'n tabąxą*.
78-33 M. son of 68 and 77, *dınɛ tsosi* (Slim Navajo).
79-29 F. wife of 78. From Chinlee. One son, one daughter.
80-33 F. daughter of 68 and 77, *ɛstsą tsosi* (Slim Woman). Three small daughters, two sons.
81-16 M. husband of 80.
82-24 M. third husband of 68, *tsi'iyodi* (Short Hair). From Black Mt.
83-33 M. son of 68 and 82, *hackeyikidilez* (Warrior-steps-on-it).
83a-22 F. wife of 83. One small son. From Indian Wells.
84-33 M. son of 68 and 82.
85-36 F. wife of 84. One small daughter, one small son. From toward Carrizo Mt.
86-33 M. son of 68 and 82, Chester. In School at Albuquerque.
87-33 F. daughter of 68 and 82, *sa'ni*, deceased. Three small children.
88-29 M. husband of 87.
89-33 F. daughter of 68 and 82, deceased infant.
90-16 M. fourth husband of 68, *dayatsohi* (Big Moustache). From Wheatfields.
91-33 M. son of 68 and 90, *ketci tsosi*.
92-33 F. daughter of 68 and 90, *nɛnaba·'* (Warband-arrived).

GENEALOGY VIII

Chinlee

Informant: Little Smith's Wife.

Interpreter: Charley Mitchell.

1-29 F. *kɛłxaba·ʻ* (Tracking-a-Warrior), or *atsidiyajɛ biyɛ' bɛ'ɛstsą.*
2-29 F. mother of 1, *nadlį anaba·ʻ* (*nadlį*-went-back-with-Warband), deceased.
3-10 M. father of 1, *hasti'n jɪntso'* (Mr. Big Black).
4-29 M. son of 2 and 3, *naidjɛ' citsosi.* From Round Rock.
5-29 M. son of 2 and 3, *Ɬa* (Lefty).
6-29 F. daughter of 2 and 3, *nadlį nanba·'* (*nadlį*-came-back-with-Warband). Three daughters, one son.
7-29 M. son of 2 and 3, *adi'yoce,* deceased.
8-29 F. daughter of 2 and 3, deceased.
9-29 M. son of 2 and 3, deceased.
10-24 F. wife of 4. Many children unknown. From Wheatfields.
11-36 F. wife of 5. Three children. From Flat Red Rock.
12-36 F. daughter of 5 and 11 *awɛłbai'* (Gray Girl). One infant daughter.
13-19 M. husband of 12, *destcini biyɛ'.* From Salt Spring, eight miles from Chinlee.
14-22 M. first husband of 1, *dzɪłidjɪni* (Black Mt.). From Chinlee.
15-29 M. son of 1 and 14.
16-29 M. son of 1 and 14.
17-29 M. son of 1 and 14.
18-17 M. second husband of 1, *atsidi yajɛ biyɛ'* (Little Smith's son). Was about 8 when he went to Ft. Sumner. From Crown Point. Six small children.
19-17 M. husband of 6. From Rough Rock, the northern foot of Black Mt.
20-29 F. mother of 2, died at Gallup as the Navajo returned from Ft. Sumner hence unknown by 1.
21-36 M. father of 2, *hastin bɪnadɪni'* (Mr. No Eye). From near the Hopi Reservation.
23-29 M. son of 20 and 21.
24-29 M. son of 20 and 21.
25-29. M son of 20 and 21.
26-29 F. daughter of 20 and 21.
27-29 F. daughter of 20 and 21.
28-29 F. wife of 23. Many children unknown. From Tohatci.
29-10 F. wife of 24. Children unknown. From Salaine Springs.
30-9 F. wife of 25. Same mother and father as 28. Two children known.
31-9 F. daughter of 25 and 30.
32-9 M. son of 25 and 30.
33-14 M. husband of 31. Small children. From Tiznasbas.
34-? F. wife of 32, unknown.
3-10 M. husband of 2, 26 and 27 at same time.
35-29 F. daughter of 3 and 26. Many children unknown.
36-14 M. husband of 35. From Upper San Juan region.
37-29 F. daughter of 3 and 27.
38-29 F. daughter of 3 and 27. Five children.
39-29 F. daughter of 3 and 27. Three small children.
40-17 M. husband of 37. From Tuba City.

40a-29 F. daughter of 37 and 40. One small child deceased, nine living.
41-29 ? M. husband of 40a. From Flat Red Rock.
42-3 M. husband of 38. From Flagstaff.
43-20 M. husband of 39. Three small children. From Keam's Cañon.
44-10 F. mother of 3, killed by the Zuñi in a war with the Mexicans.
45-34 M. father of 3, *atsıdi bıyɛ'* (Smith's son).
46-17 F. sister of 18.
47-17 M. brother of 18.
48-9 M. husband of 46. From Tohatci.
49-17 F. daughter of 46 and 48. Small children unknown.
50-17 daughter of 46 and 48.
51-17 F. daughter of 46 and 48.
52-17 M. son of 46 and 48.
53-20 M. husband of 49. From Tohatci.
54-12 M. first husband of 50. Five children. From Ft. Defiance.
55-17 F. daughter of 50 and 54.
56-40 M. husband of 55, From Two-fluted Rock, this (Chinlee) side of Ft. Defiance.
57-17 F. daughter of 50 and 54, schoolgirl.
54a-12 M. husband of 51 and 50. Children unknown.
55a-38 F. wife of 52. One daughter, one son.
56a-38 F. daughter of 52 and 55a.
57a-32 M. husband of 56a. From Crystal.
58-38 M. son of 52 and 55a.
59-? F. wife of 58 unknown.
60-9 F. wife of 47. Same mother and father as 48. From Tohatci.

GENEALOGY IX, A.

Keam's Cañon

Interpreter: Clay.

Informant: *hastin ɬedjɪni.*

1-22 M. *hastin ɬedjɪni*, age about 56. Lives about twelve miles south of Keam's Cañon.
2-22 F. mother of 1.
3-11 M. father of 1.
4-22 F. daughter of 2 and 3, deceased.
5-22 F. daughter of 2 and 3.
6-22 M. son of 2 and 408.
7-22 F. daughter of 2 and 408.
8-14 F. first wife of 1, deceased. Two small sons deceased. From Salaine Springs.
9-20 F. second wife of 1.
10-36 F. third wife of 1, deceased. Married only one year.
11-38 F. fourth wife of 1, deceased. From Keam's Cañon.
12-38 F. daughter of 1 and 11, deceased.
13-38 M. son of 1 and 11, deceased.
14-38 M. son of 1 and 11, deceased.
15-20 F. fifth and present wife of 1. A young girl, has been married less than a year.
16-2 M. husband of 5.
17-22 M. son of 5 and 16, deceased.
18-35 F. first wife of 17. Two small sons.
19-22 M. son of 5 and 16.
20-32 F. wife of 19. One small son. From Salaine Springs.
21-22 F. daughter of 5 and 16. One infant daughter.
22-35 M. husband of 21.
23-22 F. daughter of 5 and 16, deceased.
24-22 M. son of 5 and 16, Sherman. At school.
25-22 M. son of 5 and 16.
26-22 F. daughter of 5 and 16.
27-22 F. daughter of 5 and 16.
28-22 M. son of 5 and 16.
29-35 F. first wife of 6, deceased. One small daughter living, one small son deceased.
30-35 F. daughter of 6 and 29.
31-16 F. second wife of 6.
32-14 M. husband of 7, Clay.
33-22 M. son of 7 and 32.
34-22 F. daughter of 7 and 32, deceased.
35-22 M. son of 7 and 32, young.
36-22 F. daughter of 7 and 32, small.
37-22 F. daughter of 7 and 32, small.
38-22 M. brother of 2, deceased.
39-22 F. sister of 2, deceased.
40-22 F. sister of 2. One small son, one small daughter, deceased.
41-22 F. sister of 2..
42-22 F. sister of 2.
117-20 M. husband of 40. Charley.
43-? F. wife of 38, unknown.
44-29 M. husband of 39.

45-22 M. son of 39 and 44.
46-4 F. wife of 45. Two daughters known. From *tsɛxɪlį*.
47-22 F. daughter of 39 and 44.
48-29 M. husband of 47.
49-22 F. daughter of 47 and 48.
50-22 F. daughter of 47 and 48.
51-22 M. son of 47 and 48.
52-22 M. son of 47 and 48.
53-11 M. husband of 50. From Salaine Springs.
54-22 M. son of 50 and 53, deceased.
55-22 F. daughter of 50 and 53, deceased.
56-22 F. daughter of 50 and 53, deceased.
57-22 M. son of 50 and 53.
58-20 F. wife of 57, Bessie. Two sons, two daughters living, one daughter deceased.
59-22 F. daughter of 50 and 53, deceased. Four small daughters.
60-20 M. husband of 59. Second wife cares for children.
61-17 F. second wife of 60.
62-22 F. daughter of 50 and 53. Two small sons, one daughter.
63-29 M. husband of 62.
64-22 F. daughter of 50 and 53. One small son.
65-33 M. husband of 64. From Salaine Springs.
66-22 F. daughter of 50 and 53, deceased in 1924. One smalll child being raised by the mother of 67.
67-29 M. husband of 66.
68-22 M. son of 50 and 53. Schoolboy at Chinlee.
69-9 M. husband of 41. From *tsɛxɪlį*.
70-22 F. daughter of 41 and 69, deceased. Children unknown.
71-4 M. husband of 70. From *tsɛxɪlį*.
72-22 F. daughter of 41 and 69, deceased.
73-22 M. son of 41 and 69.
74-32 F. wife of 73. Children unknown. From *tsɛxɪlį*.
75-22 M. son of 41 and 69.
76-36 M. husband of 42. From far beyond Hopi Mesa.
77-22 F. daughter of 42 and 76.
78-22 M. son of 42 and 76.
79-22 M. son of 42 and 76.
80-11 M. husband of 77.
81-22 F. daughter of 77 and 80. Two sons, one daughter.
82-35 M. husband of 81.
83-22 M. son of 77 and 80.
84-36 F. wife of 83. One small child.
85-22 F. daughter of 77 and 80. Two small daughters.
86-32 M. husband of 85. From Keam's Cañon.
87-29 F. wife of 78. Four sons, three daughters.
88-29 F. daughter of 78 and 87. Two small daughters.
89-16 M. husband of 88.
90-4 F. wife of 79. From Keam's Cañon.
91-20 M. father of 3.
401-20 M. *to·ni*, 67 or 68. From near Ganado.
402-20 F. mother of 401.
403-17 M. father 401.
404-20 F. daughter of 402 and 403, *nazba·'*, deceased.
405-20 F. daughter of 402 and 403, deceased.
406-20 M. son of 402 and 403, *hastin na'na* (Mr. Cripple).
117-20 M. son of 402 and 403, Charley.
408-20 M. son of 402 and 403, *hack'ɛ'idzįz* (He-pulled-something-out).
409-20 F. daughter of 402 and 403, deceased.
410-20 M. son of 402 and 403, *isk'izi* (Squeak).

411-20 M. son of 402 and 403, *dayanɛz* (Long Moustache).
412-20 M. son of 402 and 403, *naxatc'ai* (Hobbler).
413-17 M. first husband of 404.
414-36 M. second husband of 404. Two small daughters deceased.
415-29 M. third husband of 404, deceased. One small son deceased. From Jeddito.
416-29 F. first wife of 406. One deceased infant.
417-29 F. second wife of 406. Same mother and father as 416.
418-36 F. third wife of 406.
419-3 F. fourth and present wife of 406.
420-38 F. first wife of 117.
421-32 F. second wife of 117. From Ft. Wingate.
101-16 F. Third wife of 117. See Gen. IX B.
423-29. F. fourth wife of 117.
40-22 F. fifth and present wife of 117.
425-11 F. first wife of 408. One daughter. From Jeddito.
426-9 F. second wife of 408. From Jeddito.
427-9 M. son of 408 and 426.
428-14 F. wife of 427.
429-11 F. fourth wife of 408.
430-11 M. son of 408 and 429. Policeman at Loup.
431-? F. wife of 430.
2-22 F. fifth wife of 408.
6-22 M. son of 2 and 408.
7-22 F. daughter of 2 and 408.
437-35 F. sixth wife of 408.
22-35 M. son of 408 and 437, *hackɛidziz biyɛ'* (Son of Take-Warrior-Chief-Captive).
438a-35 M. son of 408 and 437, deceased.
116-35 F. daughter of 408 and 437, *ɛstsqayajɛ* (Little Woman).
440-35 F. daughter of 408 and 437, *dzanlba* (Gray Girl). One small daughter and son.
441-35 F. daughter of 408 and 437, deceased.
442-35 M. son of 408 and 437, *hastin łɛjini* (Mr. Black).
443-35 M. son of 408 and 437, deceased.
444-35 M. son of 408 and 437, *dinɛ łtsi* (Short Navajo).
440a-14 M. husband of 440.
441a-3 F. first wife of 401. From *tsɛxilį*.
442a-29 F. second wife of 401. One small daughter deceased. From Tohatci Mt.
443a-29 F. third wife of 401. One small daughter deceased.
444a-29 F. fourth wife of 401. One small son deceased. one daughter living.
445-29 F. daughter of 401 and 444a, deceased. One small daughter living, one deceased.
446-14 M. husband of 445.
447-33 F. fifth wife of 401.
448-33 M. son of 401 and 447.
449-33 F. daughter of 401 and 447, deceased.
450-33 F. daughter of 401 and 447, deceased.
451-29 F. wife of 448. One deceased infant.
452-14 M. husband of 449.
453-33 F. sixth wife of 401. Same mother and father as 447. One son deceased.
454-33 F. seventh wife of 401. Same mother and father as 447 and 453.
455-33 M. son of 401 and 454.
456-33 M. son of 401 and 454.
457-33 M. son of 401 and 454.
458-17 F. wife of 455. Two small daughters.
459-1 F. wife of 456.

460-35 F. eighth and present wife of 401. Five sons living, two daughters and one son deceased.
461-17 F. first wife of 411, deceased. One son. From Jeddito.
462-17 M. son of 411 and 461.
463-33 F. wife of 462.
464-17 F. second wife of 411.
465-36 F. wife of 412.
466-20 F. mother of 402.
467-38 M. father of 402, *tcaí'*.
468-20 M. son of 466 and 467, *nadlɛ'* (Berdache).
469-20 M. son of 466 and 467, deceased.
470-20 M. son of 466 and 467, deceased.
471-20 F. daughter of 466 and 467, died at Ft. Sumner. One son and one daughter deceased.
472-20 M. son of 466 and 467.
473-17 F. wife of 469.
474-17 F. daughter of 469 and 473, deceased.
475-17 M. son of 469 and 473, deceased.
476-3 F. wife of 470. From Ganado.
477-3 M. son of 470 and 476.
478-? M. husband of 471. *bi'bilka'd* (Deer-it-is-on).
479-22 M. father of 403, *hal'axatsihi'* (His-Hips-wobbled-when-he-walked).
480-17 F. mother of 403.
481-35 F. mother of 460.
482-11 M. father of 460.
483-35 M. son of 481 and 482, deceased.
484-35 M. son of 481 and 482, deceased.
437-35 F. daughter of 481 and 482, deceased.
486-35 M. son of 481 and 482.
487-35 M. son of 481 and 482.
488-35 F. daughter of 481 and 482, deceased.
489-20 F. wife of 483.
490-20 F. daughter of 483 and 489, deceased. One small son.
491-20 F. daughter of 483 and 489, deceased. One small daughter and one son.
492-20 M. son of 483 and 489.
493-20 F. daughter of 483 and 489. One small daughter.
494-20 M. son of 483 and 489, schoolboy.
495-20 F. daughter of 483 and 489. One small daughter.
496-20 M. son of 483 and 489, schoolboy.
497-20 M. son of 483 and 489, deceased.
498-29 M. husband of 490.
499-22 M. husband of 491.
500-1 F. wife of 492.
501-22 M. husband of 493.
502-22 M. husband of 495.
503-22 F. wife of 484. Two small children deceased.
504-36 F. first wife of 486.
505-22 F. second wife of 486, *ɛstsą nɛz* (Tall Woman). Three sons, two daughters living, two daughters deceased.
506-22 F. third and present wife of 486, *ɛstsaiyana'ad* (Woman-stands-in-a-Point).
507-22 F. first wife of 487. One son.
508-3 F. second wife of 487.
509-9 M. father of 481.
510-35 F. mother of 481.

Informant: *tabąxą tsosi.*

Interpreter: Clay.

601-36 M. *tabąxą tsosi* (Slim *tabąxą*).
602-35 F. wife of 601.
603-36 F. mother of 601.
604-22 M. father of 601, *tc'ɛtciji.* Lives at Keam's Cañon.
605-36 M. son of 603 and 604.
84-36 F. daughter of 601 and 602. One small child.
607-36 F. daughter of 601 and 602.
608-36 M. son of 601 and 602.
610-36 F. mother of 603.
611-33 M. father of 603.
612-36 F. daughter of 610 and 611.
613-20 M. husband of 612.
614-36 M. son of 612 and 613, deceased.
615-36 F. daughter of 612 and 613, deceased.
616-36 M. son of 612 and 613, deceased.
617-36 F. daughter of 612 and 613, deceased.
618-36 F. daughter of 612 and 613. One small daughter.
619-36 M. son of 612 and 613.
620-36 M. son of 612 and 613.
621-36 F. daughter of 612 and 613. Three small sons and two daughters.
622-14 F. wife of 614.
623-14 F. daughter of 614 and 622. Four small daughters, one son.
624-14 M. son of 614 and 622.
625-20 M. husband of 623.
626-11 F. wife of 624, deceased. One infant son.
627-14 M. husband of 615.
615 and 627 had twelve children of whom four daughters are married, two sons died unmarried, two daughters and four sons are unmarried.
628-36 F. daughter of 615 and 627.
629-51a M. husband of 628 and 630.
630-36 F. daughter of 615 and 627.
631-36 F. daughter of 629 and 630.
632-36 M. son of 629 and 630.
633-36 M. son of 629 and 630.
634-36 F. daughter of 615 and 627. One small son.
635-1 M. husband of 634.
636-36 F. daughter of 615 and 627. One small son.
637-1 M. husband of 636.
638-1 M. husband of 617.
639-36 F. daughter of 617 and 638. One small daughter.
640-36 F. daughter of 617 and 638.
641-36 M. son of 617 and 638.
642-36 M. son of 617 and 638.
643-11 M. husband of 639.
644-24 M. husband of 618. Lives near Piñon.
645-3 F. wife of 619.
646-1 F. wife of 620.
647-11 M. husband of 621.
648-30 M. father of 604.
649-22 F. sister of 604.
650-22 F. mother of 604.

GENEALOGY IX B.

toxa'adlin, 20 miles north of Keam's Cañon.

Informant: Policeman's mother.
Interpreter: Clay.

101-16 F. Policeman's mother, age 53.
102-16 F. mother of 101.
103-29 M. father of 101, deceased.
104-16 F. daughter of 102 and 103, deceased.
105-16 M. son of 102 and 103, deceased.
106-16 F. daughter of 102 and 103, deceased.
107-36 M. first husband of 101. From Jeddito.
108-16 M. son of 101 and 107, deceased.
109-16 M. son of 101 and 107.
110-16 M. son of 101 and 107, Policeman.
111-29 F. wife of 108, deceased.
112-22 F. first wife of 109, deceased.
113-22 F. daughter of 109 and 112.
114-24 M. husband of 113.
115-22 F. second wife of 109. One small son, one daughter. From Keam's Cañon.
116-35 F. wife of 110. Two small daughters.
117-20 M. second husband of 101, deceased.
118-16 M. son of 101 and 117.
31-16 F. daughter of 101 and 117. See Gen. IX A.
121-25 M. father of 102. From Ft. Defiance.
122-16 F. mother of 102.
123-16 M. son of 121 and 122, deceased.
124-16 M. son of 121 and 122, deceased.
125-16 M. son of 121 and 122, deceased.
126-16 F. daughter of 121 and 122, deceased.
127-16 F. daughter of 121 and 122, deceased.
128-16 F. daughter of 121 and 122, deceased.
129-16 F. daughter of 121 and 122, deceased.
130-16 F. daughter of 121 and 122, deceased.
131-20 M. husband of 130, deceased. From Jeddito.
132-16 F. daughter of 130 and 131, deceased.
133-16 F. daughter of 130 and 131, deceased.
134-16 M. son of 130 and 131.
135-16 M. son of 130 and 131, deceased.
136-16 M. son of 130 and 131, deceased.
137-16 F. daughter of 130 and 131, deceased.
137a-16 F. daughter of 130 and 131, deceased.
139-11 M. husband of 132, 133, and 137. From Jeddito.
140-16 F. daughter of 132 and 139, deceased about 1914. Four sons.
141-16 F. daughter of 132 and 139, deceased. One small daughter deceased.
142-16 F. daughter of 132 and 139, deceased. Two small sons and one daughter.
143-16 F. daughter of 132 and 139, deceased.
144-16 F. daughter of 132 and 139, deceased. Two deceased sons.
145-16 F. daughter of 132 and 139.
146-16 M. son of 132 and 139.
147-16 M. son of 132 and 139.

149-white. M. husband of 140. Trader at Jeddito.
150-36 M. husband of 141. From Jeddito.
151-38 M. husband of 142. From Jeddito.
152-20 M. husband of 143.
153-20 F. daughter of 143 and 152. Two small daughters.
154-22 M. husband of 153.
155-22 M. husband of 144, deceased.
156-17 M. husband of 145. From Jeddito.
157-29 F. wife of 146. Two small daughters.
158-29 F. wife of 147, unknown.
159-16 M. son of 133 and 139.
160-16 F. daughter of 133 and 139, died of influenza in 1918. One small son deceased.
161-16 M. son of 133 and 139.
162-36 F. wife of 159. One small daughter.
163-9 M. husband of 160, died of influenza.
164-20 F. wife of 161.
165-16 F. daughter of 137 and 139.
166-36 M. first husband of 165, deceased. One son.
167-16 M. son of 165 and 166.
168-20 F. wife of 167. One small daughter.
169-20 M. second husband of 165, Woolly.
170-16 F. daughter of 165 and 169.
171-32 M. husband of 170. From Loup.
172-16 M. son of 165 and 169.
173-16 M. son of 165 and 169.
174-36 F. wife of 134.
175-36 F. wife of 135. From Jeddito.

Informant: *hastin jin.*
Interpreter: Clay.

201-20 M. *hastin jin.* Very blind, deaf and lame.
202-22 F. wife of 201.
203-22 M. son of 201 and 202.
204-22 F. daughter of 201 and 202.
112-22 F. daughter of 201 and 202.
206-35 F. first wife of 203 and second wife of 217.
207-35 F. daughter of 203 and 206, *zanɬbai'* (Gray Girl). Three small sons.
208-35 F. daughter of 203 and 206, *ɛstsą djɪn* (Black Woman). One small child.
209-35 M. son of 203 and 206, Dick.
210-35 F. daughter of 203 and 206, *kǫ tso'* (Big Fire).
211-35 F. daughter of 203 and 206, *yajɛ* (Little).
212-35 F. daughter of 203 and 206, *yai'*.
213-35 M. son of 203 and 206, *lai'*.
214-20 M. husband of 207.
215-38 M. husband of 208.
216-? F. second wife of 203, unknown. Lives at Gallup.
217-20 M. second husband of 206, *nadlɪcan bɪyɛ'*.
218-35 M. son of 206 and 217, *dɪnɛltci'* (Red Navajo), small.
219-11 M. first husband of 204.
220-22 F. daughter of 204 and 219. Two sons, two daughters.
221-14 M. husband of 220.
222-22 F. daughter of 204 and 219.
232-36 M. husband of 222.
224-22 M. son of 204 and 219.
225-17 F. wife of 224.

226-22 F. daughter of 204 and 219. Three small sons.
227-36 M. husband of 226.
109-16 M. first husband of 112.
228-14 M. second husband of 112. From Keam's Cañon.
229-22 M. son of 112 and 228, age 13.
230-22 F. daughter of 112 and 228, young.
231-22 M. son of 112 and 228.
232-22 F. daughter of 112 and 228.
233-22 M. son of 112 and 228.
252-20 F. mother of 217.
253-30 M. father of 217, deceased.
254-20 F. daughter of 252 and 253, *todadɛslin bɛ'ɛstsą* (Wife-of-Dam-up-Water).
255-20 M. son of 252 and 253, deceased.
256-20 F. daughter of 252 and 253, deceased.
58-20 F. daughter of 252 and 253, Bessie. See Gen. IX A.
258-20 M. son of 252 and 253, *nalıcan bıyɛ'*.
259-20 F. daughter of 252 and 253, *bıtsiakodi bɛ'ɛstsą* (Short Hair's wife). Two small daughters.
260-11 M. husband of 254 and 256, *todadɛslin*.
261-20 F. daughter of 254 and 260, deceased. Two daughters, one son.
262-20 M. son of 254 and 260.
263-20 M. son of 254 and 260.
264-20 F. daughter of 254 and 260. Two small sons.
265-20 F. daughter of 254 and 260. One son.
266-20 F. daughter of 254 and 260. One small child.
267-20 M. son of 254 and 260.
268-20 M. son of 254 and 260.
269-22 M. husband of 261.
270-35 F. wife of 262. One small son.
271-29 F. wife of 263. Two small daughters.
272-1 M. husband of 264.
273-1 M. husband of 265. Same mother and father as 272.
274-1 M. husband of 266. Same mother and father as 272 and 273.
275-22 F. wife of 255.
276-22 M. son of 255 and 275.
277-22 F. daughter of 255 and 275.
278-22 F. daughter of 255 and 275.
279-22 F. daughter of 255 and 275.
280-22 M. son of 255 and 275.
281-22 M. son of 255 and 275.
282-10 F. wife of 276. Children unknown.
283-10 M. husband of 277.
284-20 M. son of 256 and 260.
285-20 F. daughter of 256 and 260. Two small sons.
286-29 F. wife of 284. One small son, one daughter.
287-29 M. husband of 285.
288-? F. first wife of 217 who was too embarassed to give the name of her clan before his present wife.
289-22 F. wife of 258. One small child. From Ganado.
290-10 M. husband of 259, *bıtsiak'odi* (Short Hair). Two small daughters.
291-20 F. mother of 252, deceased.
292-29 M. husband of 293, deceased, *adotsǫsni* (Very thin).
293-20 F. daughter of 291 and 298, deceased.
294-20 F. daughter of 291 and 298, deceased.
295-20 F. daughter of 291 and 292, deceased.
296-20 M. son of 291 and 298.
297-22 F. wife of 296. Children unknown.
298-25 M. father of 252.

Informant: *hastin todokǫj*.
Interpreter: Clay.

301-36 M. *hastin todokǫj*, age about 70. From Keam's Cañon.
302-36 F. mother of 301.
303-38 M. father of 301, deceased. From west of Ganado.
304-36 M. son of 302 and 303, deceased.
305-36 F. daughter of 302 and 303, deceased.
306-36 F. daughter of 302 and 303, deceased.
174-36 F. daughter of 302 and 303.
309-36 F. daughter of 302 and 303.
310-36 F. daughter of 302 and 303.
311-20 F. wife of 304. From Keam's Cañon.
312-20 M. son of 304 and 311.
313-20 F. daughter of 304 and 311.
314-9 F. wife of 312. Three daughters, one son. From Keam's Cañon.
315-9 F. daughter of 312 and 314.
316-2 M. husband of 315. From Keam's Cañon.
317-2 M. husband of 313.
318-11 M. husband of 305. From Salaine Springs.
319-36 M. son of 305 and 318.
320-22 F. wife of 319. From Keam's Cañon.
321-22 M. son of 319 and 320.
322-22 F. daughter of 319 and 320. One small child.
323-22 F. daughter of 319 and 320.
324-16 F. wife of 321. One small son. From Keam's Cañon.
325-20 M. husband of 322.
326-20 M. husband of 323. Same mother and father as 325.
327-10 M. husband of 306. From Keam's Cañon.
328-20 F. present wife of 301.
329-20 M. son of 301 and 328.
330-14 F. wife of 329. Two small sons.
164-20 F. daughter of 301 and 328. One small daughter.
333-20 F. daughter of 301 and 328. One small child.
334-33 M. husband of 333. From Keam's Cañon.
335-20 M. son of 301 and 328.
336-20 M. son of 301 and 328, infant.
337- ? F. first wife of 301.
134-16 M. husband of 174.
339-36 M. son of 134 and 174.
340-36 M. son of 134 and 174.
341-36 F. daughter of 134 and 174, deceased. One daughter, one son.
342-36 F. daughter of 134 and 174. Three daughters, two sons.
343-36 F. daughter of 134 and 174.
344-36 F. daughter of 134 and 174.
345-36 M. son of 134 and 174, deceased.
346-17 F. wife of 339. Four daughters.
347-17 F. daughter of 339 and 346.
348-22 M. husband of 347.
349-17 F. daughter of 339 and 346.
350-33 M. husband of 349.
351-14 F. wife of 340.
352-14 M. son of 340 and 351.
353-14 F. daughter of 340 and 351.
354-14 F. daughter of 340 and 351.
355-14 F. daughter of 340 and 351.
356-14 F. daughter of 340 and 351.
357-20 M. husband of 341 and 342.
358-25 M. husband of 343. From Keam's Cañon.

359-22 M. husband of 344. From Keam's Cañon.
360-16 M. husband of 309. From Keam's Cañon.
361-10 M. first husband of 310.
362-36 F. daughter of 310 and 361.
363-20 M. husband of 362.
364-38 M. husband of 365.
365-36 F. daughter of 362 and 363. Two small sons.
366-36 F. daughter of 362 and 363. Two small sons.
367-9 M. husband of 366.
368-36 F. daughter of 362 and 363.
369-10 M. husband of 368.
370-20 M. second husband of 310.
371-36 M. son of 310 and 370.
372-36 F. mother of 302.
373-3 M. father of 302.
374-? M. father of 303.
375-14 F. wife of 371.
376-14 M. son of 371 and 375.
377-14 M. son of 371 and 375.
378-14 F. daughter of 371 and 375.
379-14 M. son of 371 and 375.
380-36 F. daughter of 372 and 373.
381-36 F. daughter of 372 and 373.
382-36 M. son of 372 and 373.
383-51a M. husband of 380.
303-38 M. husband of 381.
384-38 M. brother of 303, *hastin ł'aini* (Mr. Lefty).
385-38 M. brother of 303, *hastin yɨltsai* (Mr. Dry).
386-38 F. sister of 303, *ɛstsą kɨni* (Woman-House ?).
386-a38 F. sister of 303.
387-? F. wife of 384, unknown.
388-17 F. wife of 385. Two sons.

GENEALOGY IX, C.

234-35 F. mother of 206.
235-15 M. father of 206. From Ft. Defiance.
18-35 F. daughter of 234 and 235, *k'ıdszba'* (Warband-came-for-Peace).
22-35 M. son of 234 and 235, *hastin jin bınali.*
238-35 F. daughter of 234 and 235, *tsınazba* (Warband-went-ahead). Three small daughters, one small son.
239-35 M. son of 234 and 235.
240-35 F. daughter of 234 and 235, *do'itsisi.*
241-35 F. daughter of 234 and 235, *wesa'n* (Old Baby). Two small daughters.
242-35 M. son of 234 and 235, *kilį.*
243-35 M. son of 234 and 235, *tsiɣai'* (White Head).
245-25 M. husband of 238, *dınɬaɣai* (White Navajo).
246-24 F. wife of 239, deceased. One daughter, one son.
247-38 M. first husband of 240. Two small daughters. No longer living with 240.
248-6 M. second husband of 240. From near Piñon.
249-11 M. husband of 241.
250-35 F. mother of 234, *ɛstsą ɬyai'* (White Woman).
251-14 M. father of 234.

Informant: 701.
Interpreter: Clay.

701-14 M. *ɬ'ızałani,* age 43.
702-24 F. first wife of 701.
703-24 F. daughter of 701 and 702, deceased.
246-24 F. daughter of 701 and 702, deceased.
705-24 M. son of 701 and 702.
706-24 F. daughter of 701 and 702, deceased.
707-24 M. son of 701 and 702, deceased.
708-24 F. daughter of 701 and 702. In school at Sherman.
709-38 M. husband of 703. One small daughter, one son. From Jeddito.
711-22 F. wife of 705. One small child, deceased.
712-38 F. second and present wife of 701. Four small daughters, one son living three small children deceased.
713-14 F. mother of 701.
714-29 M. father of 701. From toward Hopi Mesas.
715-14 M. son of 713 and 714.
716-14 F. daughter of 713 and 714, *ɛstsą to* (Woman Water). Four small sons, one daughter.
717-14 F. daughter of 713 and 714, *ɛstsą ɬayi* (Left-handed Woman).
228-14 M. son of 713 and 714, *bıdaɣanazka'di* (One-Whisker-at-a-Time). See Gen. IX B.
221-14 M. son of 713 and 714.
720-22 F. first wife of 715. One daughter, one son. From Keam's Cañon.
721-38 F. second wife of 715, deceased. One son sent to school at Loup after mother died. From Black Mt.
722-1 F. third and present wife of 715. Three small sons and one daughter. From Black Mt.
723-33 M. husband of 716.

724-1 M. first husband of 717. One son, one daughter, both deceased.
725-38 M. second husband of 717. Three small daughters.
728-14 F. mother of 713.
729-38 M. father of 713.
730-29 F. sister of 714.
731-29 M. brother of 714.
732-32 M. husband of 730. From Loup.
733-29 M. son of 730 and 732.
734-29 F. daughter of 730 and 732.
735-14 F. wife of 731. Many children unknown.
736-38 F. mother of 712.
736a-25 M. first husband of 736.
737-36 M. second husband of 736, first husband of 738, deceased.
738-38 F. daughter of 736 and 736a.
739-38 M. son of 736 and 736a, deceased.
712-38 F. daughter of 736 and 737.
741-38 M. son of 737 and 738.
742-38 F. daughter of 737 and 738. Two daughters and one son, deceased young.
743-38 M. son of 737 and 738.
744-51a M. husband of 742. Ran away from 742.
745-38 F. sister of 736, deceased.
747-10 M. husband of 745.
748-38 M. son of 745 and 747.
749-38 M. son of 745 and 747.
750-38 F. daughter of 745 and 747. Lives at Gallup.
751-36 F. wife of 749. Five small children, all deceased.

GENEALOGY X

toxa'adlin.

Informant: *hastin t'e'cɛ.*

Interpreter: Clay.

1-16 M. *hastin t'e'cɛ.* Was about 26 when he went to Ft. Sumner, hence age about 86.
2-16 F. mother of 1.
3-14 M. father of 1. From near Ganado.
4-16 F. daughter of 2 and 3, deceased.
5-16 M. son of 2 and 3, deceased.
6-33 F. first wife of 1. From Cañon de Chelley.
7-33 F. second wife of 1. Same mother and father as 6.
8-33 M. son of 1 and 7.
9-22 F. wife of 8, deceased. From Chinlee.
10-1 F. third wife of 1. From towards Chinlee.
11-20 F. fourth wife of 1.
12-20 M. son of 1 and 11.
13-36 F. wife of 12.
14-29 F. fifth wife of 1. From Cañon de Chelley.
15-29 F. sixth and present wife of 1.
16-29 F. daughter of 1 and 14, deceased.
18-17 M. husband of 16, *tadadın.* From Navajo Mt.
19-29 F. daughter of 16 and 18, *bahi'*, Four children.
20-29 M. son of 16 and 18, *yınelwot.*
21-29 F. daughter of 16 and 18, deceased.
22-29 F. daughter of 16 and 18, deceased.
23-29 F. daughter of 16 and 18, *ɛstsą ɬtsui'* (Yellow Woman).
24-29 F. daughter of 16 and 18, *sa·ni* (Old Woman).
25-29 F. daughter of 16 and 18.
26-29 M. son of 16 and 18, schoolboy.
27-25 M. husband of 19. From Navajo Mt.
28-29 F. daughter of 19 and 27.
29-29 M. son of 19 and 27.
30-29 M. husband of 28. Said to belong to clan *dɛbɛɬ'an* (Many Sheep) which is said to be the same as 29. The only case where this name was given.
31-29 F. daughter of 1 and 25,, deceased.
32-29 M. son of 1 and 15, deceased.
33-29 M. son of 1 and 15, deceased.
34-29 M. son of 1 and 15, *dınɛɬba·'* (Gray Navajo).
35-29 F. daughter of 1 and 15, *ɛstsaniyajɛ* (Little Woman).
36-29 M. son of 1 and 15, *hackiłba·.*
37-29 M. son of 1 and 15, *ɬayajɛ* (Little Lefty).
38-29 M. son of 1 and 15, *todɛtci'ini.*
39-38 F. first wife of 34, deceased. One child sent to school after mother died.
40-10 F. second wife of 34, deceased. One son living, one daughter and one son deceased.
41-32 F. third wife of 34. Two small sons, one daughter. From Cañon de Chelley.
42-14 M. first husband of 35. Left 35. One son, one daughter.
43-22 M. second husband of 35. Two sons, one daughter living; four daughters deceased.

44-22 F. wife of 36. Three small daughters, one small son living, one infant son deceased.
45-16 F. mother of 2.
46-? M. father of 2, *nolk'ajɛ* (Neat Boy).
48-16 M. son of 45 and 46.
49-29 F. wife of 48. From near Wheatfields.
50-32 M. father of 3. From Ganado.
51-14 F. mother of 3.
52-32 M. first husband of 14. From Cañon de Chelley.
53-59 F. daughter of 14 and 52, deceased.
54-29 M. son of 14 and 52. Lives at Gallup.
55-29 F. daughter of 14 and 52, deceased.
56-29 F. daughter of 14 and 52, deceased.
57-29 F. daughter of 14 and 52, deceased.
57a-29 F. daughter of 14 and 52, deceased.
58-20 F. wife of 54. One daughter, one son. Live at Gallup.
59-36 M. husband of 55, *hatali skq* (Thin Chanter). From Cañon de Chelley.
60-29 F. daughter of 14 and 52, deceased.
61-29 F. daughter of 14 and 52, deceased.
62-29 M. son of 14 and 52, *hatali natoi' bakqj*, deceased.
63-17 M. husband of 60, *bidjadayołdoni* (One-Leg-short). From Navajo Mt.
64-29 M. son of 60 and 63, deceased.
65-29 M. son of 60 and 63, deceased.
66-29 M. son of 60 and 63, One child. Wife unknown.
67-29 M. son of 60 and 63.
68-29 M. son of 60 and 63, deceased.
69-29 F. daughter of 60 and 63, deceased.
70-29 F. daughter of 60 and 63, deceased.
71-29 M. son of 60 and 63.
72-29 M. son of 60 and 63.
73-29 M. son of 60 and 63.
74-33 M. husband of 61. From Cañon de Chelley.
75-29 F. daughter of 61 and 74. At school. One son.
76-29 F. daughter of 61 and 74.
77-29 F. daughter of 61 and 74, deceased.
78-29 F. daughter of 61 and 74, deceased.
79-29 F. daughter of 61 and 74, deceased.
80-16. M. husband of 75. One small son. From Salaine Springs.
81-29 F. mother of 14.
82-10 M. father of 14.
83-17 M. father of 52, *sak'ai* (Arrow).
84-32 F. mother of 52.

GENEALOGY XI

Ganado.

Interpreter and Informant, Nos. 1-22 to 90-10: Grover Cleveland of Ganado. 101—17 to 185—20 Informant: Grover's father's mother's mother's brother's son. Interpreter: Grover.

1-22 M. Grover Cleveland, age 48. From Steamboat Cañon.
2-22 F. mother of 1, third wife of 3, her first husband was 41.
3-38 M. father of 1, third husband of 2 and third of 33.
4-1 F. wife of 1. One small son and one small daughter. From Ganado.
5-22 F. second wife of 3, sister of 2. Three children.
6-22 M. son of 3 and 5, deceased.
7-22 F. daughter of 3 and 5, deceased.
8-22 M. son of 3 and 5.
9-38 M. husband of 7. From Steamboat Cañon.
10-22 M. son of 7 and 9, deceased.
11-22 F. daughter of 7 and 9. One small child living, four deceased infants.
12-22 M. son of 7 and 9.
13-22 M. son of 7 and 9.
14-22 M. son of 7 and 9.
15-22 F. daughter of 7 and 9. One small child.
16-29 M. husband of 11. From Ganado.
17-29 F. wife of 12. Four children. Same mother as 16, different father.
18-29 M. husband of 15. Same mother and father as 16.
19-10 F. wife of 8. Three small sons and two small daughters. From Steamboat Cañon.
20-29 M. second husband of 2. From Steamboat Cañon.
21-22 M. son of 2 and 20.
22-22 F. daughter of 2 and 20.
23-36 F. wife of 21. Five children. From Steamboat Cañon.
24-36 F. daughter of 21 and 23. One child.
25-36 M. son of 21 and 23.
26-10 M. husband of 24. From Steamboat Cañon.
27-38 F. wife of 25. One small child. From Steamboat Cañon.
28-29 M. husband of 22. From Flagstaff. Five daughters, four sons.
29-22 F. daughter of 22 and 28. Four small children.
30-22 F. daughter of 22 and 28. Three small children.
31-32 M. husband of 29. From Flagstaff.
32-25 M. husband of 30.
33-22 F. first wife of 3.
34-29 M. second husband of 33, father of 2. "They moved around much in the old days."
35-22 M. son of 33 and 34.
36-10 F. wife of 35. From Steamboat Cañon.
37-10 M. son of 35 and 36.
38-15 F. wife of 37. One deceased child, seven living. From Greasewood Spring.
39-15 F. daughter of 37 and 38. Two small children.
40-25 M. husband of 39. "Took his woman to his own home." From Steamboat Cañon.
41-14 M. first husband of 33. From Black Mt.
42-22 M. son of 33 and 41, deceased.

43-22 F. daughter of 33 and 41. Two children.
44-36 F. wife of 42, One child. "She was an old woman and only had one child, so he left her." From Cornfields.
45-38 M. husband of 43. From Steamboat Cañon.
46-38 M. son of 81 and 82.
47-17 F. first wife Grover knows of 46. Two deceased daughters.
47a-17 F. second wife of 46, same mother and father as 47.
48-17 F. daughter of 46 and 47. Four children.
49-17 F. daughter of 46 and 47. One small child.
50-17 F. daughter of 46 and 47, deceased. One small child cared for by mother of 50.
51-17 M. son of 46 and 47.
52-17 F. daughter of 46 and 47.
53-17 F. daughter of 46 and 47.
54-17 M. son of 46 and 47.
55-17 M. son of 46 and 47a.
56-17 M. son of 46 and 47a.
57-17 F. daughter of 46 and 47a, deceased. One son, one daughter, cared for by 57's mother's sister.
58-17 F. daughter of 46 and 47a.
59-17 M. son of 46 and 47a.
60-20 M. husband of 48.
61-10 M. husband of 49. From Pueblo Colorado.
62-20 M. husband of 50.
63-10 F. wife of 51. From Pueblo Colorado.
64-36 F. wife of 55. From Greasewood Spring. Children unknown.
65-? F. wife of 56, schoolgirl, clan unknown. Lives at St. Michael's.
66-20 M. husband of 57.
67-10 F. third wife of 46.
68-17 F. fourth wife of 46, daughter of 47.
69-17 F. fifth wife of 46, daughter of 47.
70-17 F. sixth wife of 46, daughter of 47a.
71-17 F. daughter of 46 and 69. One child.
72-17 M. son of 46 and 69.
73-17 M. son of 46 and 69.
74-29 M. husband of 71.
75-10 F. wife of 72.
76-17 F. daughter of 46 and 70.
77-17 F. daughter of 46 and 70.
78-17 M. son of 46 and 70.
79-10 F. seventh wife of 46. One son.
80-36 F. fourth wife of 3. Two children. From *tsɛẓntsɑ́lí'*, near Indian Wells.
81-38 F. mother of 3.
82-17 M. father of 3.
83-38 F. mother of 81.
161-38 M. brother of 83, deceased.
162-38 M brother of 83.
86-22 F. mother of 33.
87-22 F. sister of 86.
88-22 M. brother of 86.
89-29 M. husband of 87.
90-10 F. wife of 88.
101-17 M. was about 12 years old when the Navajo went to Ft. Sumner. From Ganado.
102-17 F. mother of 101.
103-38 M. father of 101, *hastin yı'ltse* (Mr. Dry). From Salaine Springs.
104-17 F. daughter of 102 and 103.
105-17 M. son of 102 and 103.
106-36 M. husband of 104. From Crooked Pine near Ganado.

107-17 F. daughter of 104 and 106.
108-17 M. son of 104 and 106, *dayałyai* (White Beard).
109-17 M. son of 104 and 106, *hackɛnaya'* (Warrior-walks-around).
110-17 M. son of 104 and 106.
111-17 F. daughter of 104 and 106. Two small daughters and one son.
112-17 F. daughter of 104 and 106.
113-10 M. first husband of 107. From Bear Spring near Ganado.
114-17 M. son of 107 and 113.
114a-33 M. second husband of 107, *tsɛ'yini*. From Cañon de Chelley.
114b-17 F. daughter of 107 and 114a. Many deceased children.
114c-17 M. son of 107 and 114a.
114d-17 F. daughter of 107 and 114a.
114e-17 M. son of 107 and 114a.
114f-36 M. husband of 114b.
114g-20 M. third husband of 107. From Ganado.
115-32 F. wife of 114. Two small sons, one daughter. From Cedar Spring, the other side of Indian Wells.
116-25 F. first wife of 108, daughter of 105 and 149. Four children. From Ganado.
117-25 F. daughter of 108 and 116. Three small children.
118-25 F. daughter of 108 and 116. Two small children.
119-Hopi M. husband of 117, clan unknown. Living at Keam's Cañon.
120-33 M. husband of 118. From Ganado.
121-32 F. wife of 109. Three children. From below (?) Indian Wells.
122-36 F. second wife of 108.
123-36 F. daughter of 106 and 122, schoolgirl.
124-36 M. son of 106 and 122.
125-36 F. daughter of 106 and 122, schoolgirl.
126-36 F. daughter of 106 and 122, schoolgirl.
127-36 F. daughter of 106 and 122.
128-29 F. third wife of 108.
129-32 F. daughfer of 109 and 121.
130-3 M. husband of 129. Children unknown.
131-29 F. wife of 110. Five children.
132-29 F. daughter of 110 and 131.
133-32 M. husband of 132. From Indian Wells.
134-29 M. husband of 111.
135-20 M. first husband of 112. Two small children deceased.
136-1 M. second husband of 112. One son small. From Pueblo Colorado.
137-1 M. third husband of 112, son of 148. One small daughter.
138-36 F. first wife of 101.
139-36 F. daughter of 101 and 138. Eight children. The oldest girl has three children but "no man lived with her."
140-38 M. husband of 139.
141-29 F. second wife of 101. Many children deceased, one daughter living. From Indian Wells.
142-29 F. daughter of 101 and 141. Three small children.
143-15 M. husband of 142. From Greasewood Spring.
144-36 F. third wife of 101. The mother of 138 and the mother of 144 were sisters.
145-36 M. son of 101 and 144.
146-20 F. wife of 145. Two small children.
147-29 F. fourth wife of 101. One small son.
148-1 F. fifth wife of 101. One son.
149-25 F. first wife of 105. From Ganado.
40-25 M. son of 105 and 149.
116-25 F. daughter of 105 and 149.
151-25 F. daughter of 105 and 149. Three small children.
152-25 F. daughter of 105 and 149. Five small children.

153-25 F. daughter of 105 and 149. Three small children.
154-36 M. husband of 151.
155-36 M. husband of 152, 154's mother's brother.
156-33 M. husband of 153.
157-25 F. second wife of 105. Same father as 149, different mother.
158-38 F. mother of 103.
159-36 M. father of 103.
160-38 M. son of 158 and 159 *hastin łai* (Left-handed).
161-38 M. son of 158 and 159, *olbį* (Always-wins).
162-38 M. son of 158 and 159, *atc'ınaba* (War-comes-forward).
163-38 M. son of 158 and 159, died at Ft. Sumner, unmarried.
83-38 F. daughter of 158 and 159.
165-38 F. daughter of 158 and 159, unknown.
166-36 F. only known wife of 160.
167-36 F. last wife of 161.
168-36 F. daughter of 161 and 167.
169-36 F. daughter of 161 and 167.
170-36 M. son of 161 and 167.
168, 169 and 170 live at Keam's Cañon, and their spouses and children are unknown.
171-? F. wife of 162 unknown.
172-3 M. husband of 83. One daughter.
174-17 F. mother of 102.
175-22 M. father of 102.
176-17 F. daughter of 174 and 175.
177-17 F. daughter of 174 and 175, *estsanamazi* (Round Woman).
178-17 F. daughter of 174 and 175, deceased infant.
179-33 M. husband of 176.
181-17 M. son of 176 and 179.
182-17 F. daughter of 176 and 179, deceased.
183-17 F. daughter of 176 and 179, deceased.
183a-17 F. daughter of 176 and 179.
184-22 F. wife of 181.
185-20 M. husband of 183a.

GENEALOGY XII

Ganado.

Informant: Striker of Ganado.

Interpreter: Grover Cleveland of Ganado.

1-10 M. *hastin dadjo'lɛ bɪyɛ'*. Was two years old when he returned from Ft. Sumner. From Ganado.
2-10 F. mother of 1.
3-38 M. father of 1. From Ganado.
3a-10 M. son of 2 and 3, deceased.
4-10 F. daughter of 2 and 3, *ɛstsą tso'*.
5-10 M. son of 2 and 3, *hackɛyaniya* (War-comes-to-him).
6-10 F. daughter of 2 and 3, deceased. Two sons, one daughter.
7-10 F. daughter of 2 and 3, deceased.
8-1 F. first wife of 1, *sis*, deceased. From Cornfields.
9-1 M. son of 1 and 8, *dzɪlabɛ'* (Two-Buttes-like-Breasts).
10-1 M. son of 1 and 8.
10a-1 F. daughter of 1 and 8.
11-29 F. wife of 9. Two small children. From Cornfields.
12-29 F. wife of 10. One small child. From *bɪ'dahotci* (Indian Wells).
13-white M. husband of 10a, Ed. Thacker, trader at Black Mt.
14-1 F. daughter of 10a and 13, married white man also.
15-1 F. second wife of 1, deceased. Same mother as 8, but different father.
16-1 F. daughter of 1 and 15. Three small children.
17-1 F. daughter of 1 and 15.
18-1 M. son of 1 and 15, schoolboy.
19-1 M. son of 1 and 15, schoolboy.
20-1 M. son of 1 and 15, schoolboy.
21-20 M. husband of 16. Chaco Cañon.
22-33 M. husband of 17. From Ganado.
23-19 F. third and present wife of 1. Two small children. From Ganado.
24-29 M. second and present husband of 4. From Ganado.
25-33 M. first husband of 4.
26-10 M. son of 4 and 25.
27-10 M. son of 4 and 25.
28-22 F. wife of 26. Two small children. From Snake Water near Ganado.
29-29 F. wife of 27. Four small children. From Snake Water.
30-10 F. daughter of 4 and 24, *ɛstsą todɛtci'ni*. Four small children.
31-29 M. husband of 30.
32-33 F. wife of 5. Seven children.
33-33 F. daughter of 5 and 32, *ɛstsą ltsui'* (Yellow Woman).
34-33 M. son of 5 and 32.
35-33 F. daughter of 5 and 32. One small child.
36-33 F. daughter of 5 and 32.
37-33 F. daughter of 5 and 32.
38-33 M. son of 5 and 32.
39-33 F. daughter of 5 and 32.
40-29 M. husband of 33.
41-20 F. wife of 34. From Ganado.
42-30 M. husband of 35.
43-33 M. husband of 6.
44-10 F. daughter of 6 and 43. One small child.
45-10 M. son of 6 and 43.
46-33 M. husband of 44.
47-20 F. wife of 45.
48-10 F. mother of 2.
49-36 M. father of 2, *hastin kɛjoji* (Mr. Toes), deceased.
50-38 F. mother of 3.
51-25 M. father of 3.

GENEALOGY XIII

Ganado.

1-6 M. *hacyą'atso'*. Born as the Navajo returned from Ft. Sumner. From Fluted Rock.
2-6 F. mother of 1, still living.
3-29 M. father of 1. From Fluted Rock.
4-6 M. son of 2 and 3, deceased.
5-22 F. wife of 1, deceased. *hatałi nałoi's* sister's daughter. From Fluted Rock.
6-22 F. daughter of 1 and 5, deceased in childbirth, baby living, raised by 2.
7-22 M. son of 1 and 5.
8-22 F. daughter of 1 and 5, deceased. This couple had four sons of which three are living. They live near Hog's Tank along the railroad.
9-22 F. daughter of 1 and 5, deceased.
10-22 F. daughter of 1 and 5.
11-22 M. son of 1 and 5, deceased.
12-22 F. daughter of 1 and 5, deceased.
13-22 M. son of 1 and 5, deceased.
14-22 M. son of 1 and 5.
15-38 M. husband of 6, Charley Shirley.
16-3 M. husband of 8.
17-32 M. husband of 10. Lives this (Ganado) side of Fluted Rock.
18-6 F. mother of 2.
19-? M. father of 2. From Lukachukai.
20-6 F. daughter of 18 and 19, deceased.
21-6 M. son of 18 and 19, deceased.
22-17 F. wife of 4. From Fluted Rock.
23-17 F. daughter of 4 and 22. One deceased infant daughter, two small daughters living.
24-17 M. son of 4 and 22.
25-17 M. son of 4 and 22, deceased.
26-17 M. son of 4 and 22, deceased.
27-17 M. son of 4 and 22, in school at Ft. Apache.
28-17 M. son of 4 and 22, herds sheep.
29-33 M. husband of 23. From Greasewood Spring, near Sunrise south of Ganado.
30-20 F. wife of 24. Two small sons. From *tsɛyakį'sakad* (Rock-Stands-under-the-House) near Ganado.
31-36 M. husband of 20. From *t'ot'aik'ɛ'* (Prairie Dog Field) on the mail line between Ganado and Chinlee.
32-6 F. daughter of 20 and 31, deceased.
33-6 M. son of 20 and 31, deceased.
34-6 M. son of 20 and 31, *hacyąyajɛ*.
35-36 F. daughter of 20 and 31.
36-17 F. wife of 33, deceased, one small child also deceased. From *nazlıni*, between Ganado and Chinlee.
37-29 F. wife of 34. From *nazlıni*.
38-29 F. daughter of 34 and 37, *hacyąyajɛ bıtsi'*.
39-33 M. husband of 35. From Pueblo Colorado.
40-22 F. wife of 21. Had the same father and mother as *hatałi nałoi* (which *hatałi nałoi* ?) From Ganado.
41-29 F. mother of 3.
42-22 M. father of 3, *bıtc'anɛz* (High Hat).

43-29 F. daughter of 41 and 42, deceased.
44-29 F. daughter of 41 and 42, deceased.
45-29 F. daughter of 41 and 42, deceased. Many children unknown, four known to be living.
46-29 F. daughter of 41 and 42, deceased. Many children unknown.
47-29 M. son of 41 and 42, deceased.
48-17 M. husband of 43. From Ganado.
49-22 M. husband of 44.
50-10 M. husband of 45. From Ganado.
51-10 M. husband of 46. Same father and mother as 50.
52-10 F. wife of 47. Same father and mother as 50 and 51.
53-10 M. son of 47 and 52, *atsıdi todokǫji*.
54-10 F. daughter of 47 and 52. One small son.
55-10 M. son of 47 and 52, wife unknown.
56-10 M. son of 47 and 52.
57-10 F. daughter of 47 and 52.
58-38 F. first wife of 53, deceased. Children unknown.
59-3 F. second wife of 53. One small child. From Cross Cañon, near Ganado.
60-3 M. husband of 54.
61-22 F. wife of 56. Children unknown.
62-3 M. husband of 57. Lives near the railroad.

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